

**GEN. JOSEPH GRAHAM**  
**AND HIS**  
**REVOLUTIONARY PAPERS**

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GEN. JOSEPH GRAHAM.







# GENERAL JOSEPH GRAHAM

AND HIS PAPERS ON

NORTH CAROLINA REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY

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WITH APPENDIX

AN EPITOME OF NORTH CAROLINA'S MILITARY SERVICES IN  
THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR AND OF THE LAWS  
ENACTED FOR RAISING TROOPS

BY

MAJOR WILLIAM A. GRAHAM,  
LINCOLN COUNTY, N. C.

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E. V.



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GENERAL JOSEPH GRAHAM.

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# GENERAL JOSEPH GRAHAM.

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## CHAPTER I—FAMILY.

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|----------------------|------------------------------------|
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| 2. MRS. MARY GRAHAM. | 4. QUEEN'S MUSEUM OR LIBERTY HALL. |

### I. JAMES GRAHAM.

#### HIS FAMILY BY FIRST MARRIAGE.

James Graham, the father of Joseph Graham, was of Scotch-Irish descent. When the Province of Ulster had been greatly depopulated by the armies of Elizabeth and James I. on account of the adherence of the inhabitants to the Roman Catholic religion and their opposition to the establishment in their country of the Church of England, King James endeavored to repopulate it with emigrants from England and Scotland, and also with Irish Protestants. Grants of land were made to these on condition that buildings should be erected and other designated improvements made in a specified time. The Scotch emigrants settled mostly in the counties of Antrim and Down. The Scots who went to Ireland were called Scotch-Irish, to distinguish them from their brethren who remained in Scotland. Their descendants have retained this designation in all lands to which they have emigrated, and especially in America. They are not an admixture of the Scotch and Irish races, but are Scots who lived in Ireland and their descendants.

Rev. Alexander Stuart, in his book, "A Short Account

of the Church of Christ as It was Amongst the Irish and After the Entry of the Scots," names among the families emigrating from Scotland to Ireland prior to 1618, Baily, Balfour, Forbes, Graham, Hamilton, Keith, McDonald and Stuart. These names were conspicuous in the affairs of Scotland in the time of James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, known in the history of Scotland as "the Great Marquis." Some of them were his devoted adherents. Gen. Joseph Graham, in an obituary of his brother George Graham, in 1826, says: "By tradition in the family, James was a descendant of a kinsman and follower of the celebrated Montrose, who made such a conspicuous figure in the civil wars in Scotland in the reign of Charles I., and when the English army prevailed in Scotland, Montrose fled to Holland, and his adherents, among whom was a clan of the Grahams, passed over to the north of Ireland, where their descendants yet reside." This kinsman of Montrose was probably Patrick Graham of Inchbrackie, whom Morris in his Life of Montrose says was the best loved and trusted of all his kinsmen. Montrose stayed with him at his residence, Tullibelton, on the river Tay, between Perth and Dunkeld, when on his way to rally the Highlanders in support of King Charles I., and Graham was his only companion to the place of assembly. He commanded the Atholmen in the battle of Kilsyth, and was probably with him on the fatal day at Philliphaugh. The Atholmen were still true to Montrose even after this disaster, and Patrick Graham was doubtless among the faithful followers to whom Montrose bade farewell at Rattray before embarking for France. This kinsman of Montrose probably came to Ireland in

1646-9. James Graham was born in 1714, and was, it is believed, his grandson or great-grandson.

Morris gives the following branches of the clan Graham as represented at the funeral of the father of Montrose in 1626:

Montrose,	Inchbrackie,
Claverhouse,	Morphie,
Fintrie,	Orchill,
Bungalow.	

As there was a tide of emigration from Scotland to Ireland in the seventeenth century, so one hundred years later there was one from Ireland to America, chiefly to the Province of Pennsylvania. Among these emigrants was James Graham, from the north of Carlingford Bay, County Down, Ireland, in 1733, who at the age of nineteen years, came to the county of Berks, Pennsylvania. It is not positively known which of his kindred came with him, but there were Grahams among the emigrants who, about this time, settled in Lancaster County, only twenty miles distant, and it is probable that some of these were his kindred. Among these were John and James Graham, from County Donegal, who afterwards moved to the Calf Pasture, in Virginia. Their descendants are still found in Augusta County and in Southwest Virginia. Also Michael Graham, a descendant of Montrose, and whose grandson, Rev. Wm. Graham, was the first president of Washington College, now Washington and Lee University.<sup>1</sup> This college has always been under the control of the Presbyterians. Montrose was not a Roman Catholic, but a Presbyterian, who was

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<sup>1</sup>The Graham Family by David Graham.

loyal to his king although of different religious faith. Charles I. was not a Romanist, but of the Church of England. Montrose was excluded from the kirk on account of his loyalty to Charles, and not for his religious belief. He so professed when asked to recant by the ministers who attended him at the time of his execution.

"I am very sorry that any actions of mine have been offensive to the church of Scotland, and I would with all my heart be reconciled to the same. But since I can not obtain it on any other terms unless I call that my sin which I account to have been my duty, I can not for all the reason and conscience in the world." Again, "It is objected against me by many, even good people, that I am under the censure of the church. This is not my fault, seeing it is only for doing my duty, by obeying my Prince's most just commands, for religion, his sacred person and authority. Yet I am sorry they did excommunicate me; and in that which is according to God's laws without robbing my conscience or allegiance I desire to be relaxed."<sup>2</sup>

#### JAMES GRAHAM'S FIRST MARRIAGE.

I have been unable to learn the maiden name of his first wife. She bore him six children, viz.: 1, James, 2 Henry, 3 Charles, 4 William, 5 Elizabeth—who married James Hennerly, 6 Mary—who married Lewis Morgan. Henry died unmarried shortly after his father. In 1765, William does not appear as a legatee in the distribution of Henry's estate; he may have died prior thereto.

#### FAMILY BY SECOND MARRIAGE.

After the death of his first wife he married Mrs. Mary Barber, whose maiden name was McConnell and who had one child, Esther, by her first husband. This

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<sup>2</sup> Life of Montrose, Morris.

marriage probably occurred about 1750. In 1765 the Orphans' Court of Chester County, Penn., appointed Evan Evans guardian of the five children, none of whom was fourteen years of age. By this marriage James Graham had five children, viz., John, George and Joseph, notices of whom follow in this book, and two daughters (1) Sarah, who married Robert Allison, grandfather of the late R. Washington Allison, father of Senator John P. Allison, of Cabarrus County, and who was a member of the congregation of Poplar Tent Presbyterian Church, Cabarrus County. Robert Allison died in 1804, Mrs. Allison in 1825. They are buried in the cemetery of Poplar Tent Church. (2) Ann, who married Thomas Barnett. They lived in the bounds of the Steele Creek congregation. He was the ancestor of the Prices, Elms and others in that locality. He was a soldier in the Revolutionary War; among other services he was a member of Joseph Graham's company at Charlotte, September 26th, 1780, and at Cowan's Ford February 1st, 1781, and there fired the shot which killed Colonel Hall of the British Army. He died in 1832, and is buried in the Steele Creek Cemetery. Mrs. Barnett died near Jackson, Tenn., in 1841.

James Graham died October . . , 1763, aged 49 years. He was then a citizen of London Britain, now (1903) known as Yeatman's Mill, Chester County, Penn. He appears as a renter of property from John Evans in 1763, and probably earlier. He is not in the list of taxables in that township for 1758, but we find among the single freemen James Grimes' two sons. His will is

recorded in Chester County, Pennsylvania, and is as follows, viz. :

In the name of God, Amen. I, James Graham, Farmer of London Britain in the County of Chester and Province of Pennsylvania, being weak and sick in body but of sound mind and perfect memory, do make and order my last will and testament in the form and manner following:

First. I leave to my son Henry fifty pounds and all my wearing apparel and the third of the Benefit of the place during the lease, if he'll come and work it along with the three boys.

2. I leave to my son Charles twenty pounds.

3. I leave to my daughter Elizabeth ten pounds.

4. I leave to my daughter Mary the Snip mare and saddle and the bed and stead which she lies on and 35 pounds in cash.

5ly. I leave to my son James the gray colt and new saddle and twenty pounds in cash.

6ly. I leave to my son William twenty pounds in cash.

7ly. I leave the remaining part of all my Estate, real and personal, after the above Legasys are paid, to be equally divided betwixt Mary, my Beloved wife, and my sons John, George & Joseph, & Sarah & Ann. I leave to my beloved wife over and above her equal share, the Doe mare and her saddle and two feather beds and all the Putter\* and Pots. I leave the three little boys each of them a colt besides their proportional share. I do order that my youngest five children should live with their mother during her widowhood and be schooled and clad out of the interest of their money & that if any of them should die their part should be Equally divided amongst the rest and that the three boys should be bound out to trades when they are fit for it. Finally I appoint Mary my wife and James Kennedy the Executors of this my last will and testament. I do hereby revoke all other wills by me made before this and do publish and declare that this and none other be my last will and Testament.

Given under my hand and seal this 13th day of Oct., 1763.

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\*NOTE.—The plates, dishes and drinking vessels of this period were generally made of pewter and more or less ornamented or burnished. This material was well-suited to the rough transportation of those times. First the cups and saucers gave way to those of china and earthenware, and gradually the other articles were supplanted by those of different material. In the will of Mary Washington, mother of the President, made twenty years subsequent to this time, as lately published in the papers, the tableware seems to have been of pewter with the exception of two tea sets (one dozen) of cups and saucers of china. Governor John Hancock of Massachusetts, 1786, regarded his embossed pewter plates as his finest table furniture.



Signed, sealed and Delivered to be the Last Will and Testament of James Graham.

JAMES GRAHAM.

Before us JOHN DICKIE  
THOMAS DUGLES.

This will was proven Oct. 22d, 1763.

In 1784 Mary Graham was assessed for taxation on 200 acres of land, four horses, four cattle, seven sheep and one negro. This property was doubtless the estate of James Graham not specified in his will.

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## 2. MRS. MARY GRAHAM.

The Scotch-Irish, like bees, seem to have moved in swarms: first, from Scotland to Ireland, 1610 to 1640; second, from Ireland to America, 1730 to 1750; third, from Pennsylvania Southward, 1750 to 1775.

With the last came Mrs. Graham, with her cousin Charles Moore, to the vicinity of Spartanburg, S. C. She remained there but a short time, and about 1768 removed with her children to Mecklenburg County, N. C. In 1771 she appears on the records of the county as the purchaser of two hundred acres of land on the head waters of Paw Creek, from Alexander Berryhill, for forty pounds of proclamation money.

This place is on the Beattie's Ford road, three miles from Charlotte. After her death her son George resided there during his life; his son-in-law, Major Bostwick, and afterwards his widowed daughters, Mrs. Caruth and Mrs. McRee succeeded him. About 1860 the property was sold by the family. Dr. Paul Barringer now (1903), chairman of the faculty of the Univer-

sity of Virginia, owns it. It is occupied by a tenant. Dr. Barringer is a descendant in the fourth generation from Mrs. Graham. She was a member of Sugar Creek church, and resided within the bounds of its congregation. She died July 7th, 1791, aged 71 years, and is buried in the old Sugar Creek graveyard. About 1861 her tombstone was found leaning against the wall of the cemetery. Not knowing the locality of her grave, her grandchildren had it placed by that of her son George in the Presbyterian cemetery in Charlotte. She must have been a woman of fine business capacity and an excellent mother. Left a widow with six small children, the youngest scarcely four years old, she emigrated to a new section, purchased a home and reared her children. Although of limited means, after giving them such instruction as she was capable of doing she sent most of them to the best school in this section of the country, Queen's Museum. She instilled into all of them a love for learning and a desire to acquire knowledge. Her sons were among the most prominent men of their time, and probably came into public notice at an earlier age than any other youths of the county.

Her daughters were the heads of families whose descendants are known for their virtues and intelligence, and have ever been prominent in the communities in which they reside on account of their worth and public spirit.

Her children were noted not only for their intelligence and activity in worldly matters, but were also earnest supporters of morality and religion.

Although she lived in what was termed a retired section of the country, far from the busy marts of the

world, and was perhaps hardly known beyond her own community, yet in the example she set them and the training she gave the children committed to her care, she conferred a great blessing upon her country.

“Oh wondrous power how little understood,  
Entrusted to the mother’s mind alone  
To fashion genius, form the soul for good  
Inspire a West or train a Washington.”

I append a copy of the epitaph upon her tombstone, as showing the custom of those times. Nearly every slab in the cemetery contains verses, either original or copied from the “Psalms and Hymns.” Some of these inscriptions are quite odd; most of them refer wholly or partly to the Resurrection:

“No I’ll repine at death no more  
But with a cheerful gasp resign  
To the cold dungeon of the grave  
These dying withering limbs of mine.

“Let worms devour my withering flesh  
And crumble all my bones to dust  
My God shall raise my frame anew  
At the revival of the just.

“Break sacred morning thro’ the skies  
Bring that delightful dreadful day  
Cut short the hours dear Lord and come  
Thy lingering wheels how long they stay.

“Haste then upon the wings of love  
Rouse all the pious sleeping clay  
That we may join the heavenly joys  
And sing the triumph of the day.”

The members of the Graham family in Pennsylvania and North Carolina maintained communication and ex-

changed visits. They came and went by sea to and from Charleston, S. C., and thence by land and water to Mecklenburg County, for many years. Two of the sons came to North Carolina in 1800. On the return one was drowned at sea. This was the last visit. They gradually ceased correspondence and the connection was lost. Mrs. J. Scott Ferguson (Nannie Graham), of Pittsburg, Penn., is of the Pennsylvania branch.

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### 3. DR. JOHN GRAHAM

Eldest son of James Graham by his second marriage, was born in Pennsylvania. He was educated at Queen's Museum, afterwards Liberty Hall, in Charlotte, and received a diploma or certificate, the only one now known to be in existence, of which the following is a copy:

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,  
MECKLENBURG COUNTY.

This is to certify that Mr. John Graham hath been a student in the Academy of Liberty Hall, in the State and county above mentioned the space of four years preceding the date hereof; that his whole deportment during his residence there was perfectly regular; that he prosecuted his studies with diligence and made such acquisition, both in the languages and scientific learning, as gave entire satisfaction to his teacher. And he is hereby recommended to the friendly notice and regard of all lovers of Religion and Literature wherever he comes.

In testimony of which this is given at Liberty Hall, this 22d of November, 1778, and signed by

ISAAC V. ALEXANDER, *President.*  
EPHRAIM BREVARD,  
ABRAHAM ALEXANDER,

*Trustees.*

In December, 1775, he served as a private in the expe-

dition against the Scovillite Tories. On account of the deep snow which fell during this campaign it is generally called "The Snow Campaign." In 1776, John was a member of the company that marched from Mecklenburg to aid in suppressing the Tories in the lower Cape Fear region. At Cross Creek, learning the result of the battle at Moore's Creek Bridge, his company returned home. In this company were twenty students of Queen's Museum, of which he was a student. It was commanded by Dr. Ephraim Brevard, who was then a professor in the college. An account of these expeditions taken from his journal was published in *The Southern Home*, Charlotte, N. C., in 1874.

After graduating at Liberty Hall he taught school several years, then went to Philadelphia as tutor in the family of the celebrated Doctor Rush, with whom he "read medicine." He procured sufficient funds to attend medical lectures, and was graduated as a physician from the University of Pennsylvania.

He married Miss Margaret Witherspoon, of York County, South Carolina, and settled at Blacksburg, in that State.

They had no children.

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#### 4. QUEEN'S COLLEGE OR MUSEUM.

John Graham was a graduate and Joseph a student of this school. The building stood upon the lot on which the Mecklenburg County court-house now (1903) stands.

Prior to 1770 there were in this Province only two academies chartered by the Legislature and approved

by the King and Council, with power to confer degrees. One of these was at Edenton, the other at New Bern.

There were classical schools of more or less extended curriculum in many of the Presbyterian congregations and at other points in the country and in some of the towns.

This school at Charlotte town was in the bounds of the Sugar (Sugaw) Creek congregation, and seems to have been one of the oldest and the most important in the Province. It was established at an early date and flourished under Rev. Joseph Alexander, who succeeded Rev. Alex. Craighead in 1766 as pastor of Sugar Creek church. January 15th, 1771, the Colonial Legislature granted it a charter empowering it to confer the degrees of A. B. and A. M. upon its graduates. The act was approved by the Royal Governor and the Crown attorney, and forwarded to the King for his action. There are two errors in the histories that I have seen as to this charter. They assert:

1. That its president was not required to be of the Established Church.

2. That it received no State aid.

- (1) One section of the charter is as follows: "And provided further, that no person shall be permitted to be president of the said college but who is of the Established Church, and who upon being nominated and appointed by the Fellows and Trustees as aforesaid, or the majority of them, shall be duly licensed by the Governor or Commander-in-Chief for the time being."

- (2) Another as follows: "And the said Fellows and Trustees being desirous that some certain revenue be raised for founding, establishing and endowing the said

college: Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that a duty of six pence per gallon on all rum or other spirituous liquors brought into and disposed of in Mecklenburg County be paid for and during the space of ten years from and after the passing of this act by the owners and carriers thereof for and towards the raising the sum for purposes aforesaid, which duties shall be collected and accounted for and paid to the treasurer of the said college in the same manner and under the same penalties and restrictions as other duties on spirituous liquors are now paid and collected by law."

The notorious Edmund Fanning is named first in the list of trustees, and was the first president of the institution.

Foote in his Sketches of North Carolina says that Fanning offered to get a charter if they would make him Chancellor of the institution, but this was refused. I think he is mistaken as to the refusal. Fanning left North Carolina and went to New York with Governor Tryon in the summer of 1771. The next session of the Legislature in December, 1771, amended the charter so that degrees could be conferred in the absence of the president, "who is now out of the Province." The charter required all diplomas to be signed by the president. Fanning, while a citizen of North Carolina, resided in Orange County, more than a hundred miles from Charlotte; he could have had but little to do with the operations of the school; it must have been administered by the professors and tutors, who were all Presbyterians, and hence the law as to control by the Church of England was evaded.

Governor Tryon forwarded the charter, with other

acts of the Legislature, to the King for his approval in March, 1771. The Board for the Government of the Province made the following report upon this act to His Majesty:

“The Second of these Acts is for the Institution and Indowment of a College, and Mr. Jackson, to whom it was referred, has reported no objection thereto in point of Law. Mr. Tryon, Your Majesty’s Governor of North Carolina, in his letter of the 12th of March, 1771, observes upon this Law “that it is but the Outline of a foundation for the education of youth, that the necessity for such an institution in that Country is obvious, and the propriety of the mode therein adopted must be submitted to Your Majesty; that although the President is to be of the Established Church and licensed by the Governor, yet the Fellows, Trustees and Tutors, he apprehends, will be generally Presbyterians, the College being promoted by a respectable Settlement of that persuasion, from which a considerable body marched to Hillsborough in Sept., 1768, in support of Government.

“From this Report of Your Majesty’s Governor and from the prevalence of the Presbyterian persuasion within the County of Mecklenburg, we may venture to conclude, that this College, if allowed to be incorporated, will, in effect, operate as a Seminary for the education and Instruction of youth in the Principles of the Presbyterian Church. Sensible as we are of the wisdom of that tolerating Spirit which generally prevails throughout Your Majesty’s Dominions, and disposed as we particularly are in the Case before us, to recommend to every reasonable Mark of favour and protection a Body of Subjects who, by the Governor’s Report, have behaved with such loyalty and zeal during the late Troubles & disorders, still we think it our duty to submit to Your Majesty, whether it may be advisable for Your Majesty to add Incouragement to toleration by giving the Royal Assent to an Establishment which in its consequences promises great and permanent Advantages to a sect of Dissenters from the Established Church who have already extended themselves over that Province in very considerable numbers.

“By this Act a Duty of Six pence per Gallon is laid on all Rum and other spirituous Liquors brought into and disposed of in Mecklenburg County, as a Fund for raising Revenue for support of the Institution; In what manner this clause may operate as a Tax upon the consumption of British Spirits, or from the looseness of its



wording how far it may be strained to exempt Spirits manufactured within this County from the duty imposed, we can not pretend to foresee; but it would seem that a Foundation proessedly for General uses ought not in regularity to be supported by a Tax partially imposed upon any one County in particular. But when to the above observations we add that this Law is not accompanied by a Clause of suspension,\* though it clearly comes under the description of those Acts, which by Your Majesty's Instructions are directed to be so passed, as being of an unusual and extraordinary nature & importance, and persuaded as we are of what consequence it is on all occasions to enforce this Your Majesty's Institutions, we do not hesitate humbly to recommend to Your Majesty to signify your Royal disallowance of this Act."

The Act was disallowed by the King, April, 1772. In 1771 Josiah Martin, the Royal Governor, submitted an amendment, with other acts of the Legislature, to the King, as follows:

AMENDMENT TO CHAPTER ENACTED DECEMBER, 1771.

"9th. An act to amend an Act intituled an Act for founding, establishing and endowing of Queen's College in the Town of Charlotte in Mecklenburg County.

"The design of this Act being to invest the Trustees and Fellows with the powers of Graduation during the absence of the President, who is now out of the Province, without which the Institution would be imperfect, I thought it proper to assent thereto."

No diplomas could be granted, since the President (Edmund Fanning) was absent from the State.

The King disallowed the amendment, and Governor Martin issued the proclamation which appears below:

"NORTH CAROLINA—SS.

"By His Excellency Josiah Martin, Esquire, Captain-General, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the said Province.

"A Proclamation.

"WHEREAS, His Majesty hath been pleased by His Royal Order in Council bearing date at St. James the Seventh day of April, 1773,

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\*This clause was as follows: "Provided, that the execution of this act be suspended, till his Majesty's Royal Will and Pleasure be known thereupon."

to declare His Royal Disallowance of an Act passed in the General Assembly of this Province in December, 1771, intituled 'An Act to amend an Act intituled an Act for Founding, Establishing and endowing of Queen's College, in the Town of Charlotte, in Mecklenburg County,' I do, in pursuance of His Majesty's Royal Commands, issue this Proclamation, hereby declaring the said Act Disallowed, Void, and of none effect, whereof all persons are required to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

"Given under my Hand and the Great Seal of the said Province at New Bern, the 28th day of June, A. Dom. 1773, in the 13th year of His Majesty's Reign.

"God save the King.

Jo. MARTIN."

In April, 1777, the first Legislature of the State of North Carolina incorporated the institution under the name of Liberty Hall, but referred in the act to its former existence and usefulness. Its operation was much disturbed during the Revolutionary War, and the building was used as a hospital both by the American and British armies. After the Revolutionary War, the Presbyterians transferred the college to Winnsboro, S. C.

## CHAPTER II.

## GENERAL GEORGE GRAHAM.

George Graham, second son of James and Mary Graham, was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, December 5, 1757. He came to Mecklenburg County with his mother and family when he was about ten years old. His education was such as was common to the youth of that period, which was about the time the college in Charlotte (Queen's Museum) was at its zenith. Although he was not educated in that institution, yet it created a kind of literary atmosphere, and by mixing with its students he acquired a taste for reading, whereby his mind became improved beyond many whose opportunities were superior.

The first public meetings in Charlotte at the beginning of the Revolutionary War he attended, and although too young to be a counselor, he read with solicitude the public prints and many manuscripts of their proceedings, which it is to be regretted were not preserved to the present day. He attended the memorable meeting of the Committee on May 20, 1775, which declared independence. An official copy of this declaration was sent to Congress by Capt. James Jack. When Captain Jack on his way to Philadelphia halted in Salisbury for refreshment, his destination and the object of his trip becoming known, a Mr. Boote and John Dunn, lawyers, the first of note and both remembered, threatened to have Jack taken up for treason, and actually tried to influence the authorities to have him arrested. Captain Jack drew his pistols, threatened to shoot the

first man who dared to interrupt him, and passed on. The news of this proceeding reached Mecklenburg; the committee convened and ordered twelve horsemen to Salisbury to bring these parties before them to answer for their conduct. George Graham was one of the twelve sent. The horsemen, agreeable to their orders, brought the lawyers, on August 1, 1775, after an all-night ride. The committee found them guilty of "conduct inimical to the cause of American freedom," and sent them to Camden, S. C.; there they were sent before the Congress of South Carolina, which sent them to Charleston for imprisonment, where they remained for several years, and then went to Florida.

George Graham was of the party which took them to Camden. This was the first military duty performed by the Mecklenburg militia in the Revolutionary War, and is believed to be the first by any troops in the South. In the autumn of 1775, he, under the command of General Rutherford, served in the campaign against the Cherokee Indians. When in the Nation he was one of the party selected to pursue Scott and Hicks, two British traders, who, it was believed, had instigated the Indians to war. The detachment overtook them at what was then called the Over Hill Towns, on Hiawassee River, and brought them back as prisoners.

#### SERVICES IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Shortly after his return from the Cherokee campaign, another force was raised to go against the Scotch near Cross Creek, now Fayetteville, who were raising men for Britain. George Graham was a member of this expedition. They went as far as Cross Creek, where,

learning of the defeat of the Scotch at Moore's Creek Bridge by Colonel Caswell, and that the Tories were dispersed, they returned home. By order of the Mecklenburg committee, he was twice after this sent out as one of a detachment into Tryon County to overawe and suppress Toryism.

He held commissions, which were by appointment of the Governor, for one year each, in the Mecklenburg organization of State militia almost during the entire period of the Revolutionary War. He states that five of them were dated on his birthday, the 5th of December.

His commission in the South Carolina troops was dated April, 1781. It having been lost, a new one was issued, dated December 5, 1781.

Early in 1780 he served in a campaign as lieutenant under Major Sharp, later of Tennessee, who was his Captain. They assisted in making the entrenchments and placing abbatiss at Charleston before it was besieged. By service with the regular soldiers at this point he became well versed in military tactics and the duties of an officer in active service. Their term of service having expired, his command was relieved by another detachment of militia only two days before the town was closely invested by the British. The troops who relieved him were captured when the town was taken. After Buford's defeat, Mecklenburg County was the "frontier," and her militia almost continually under arms. He was a lieutenant in this force, and present at every call to service; was with General Rutherford when he marched to Ramsour's Mill. On the 6th of August, 1780, he, as a lieutenant in the company of Capt. James Knox, participated in the battle of Hang-

ing Rock. A ball passed through his coat on the top of the left shoulder and another between the barrel and ramrod of his rifle, near the thimble, next the lock. A party of fifteen or twenty of the enemy took shelter in a cabin with a clapboard door and began firing through the cracks. Captain Knox, with half the men, charged the front door, Lieutenant Graham with the rest charged the rear door. Captain Knox ran against and broke down the door, the enemy fled out of the rear door, and Graham's party shot down several of them. Capt. David Reid, of Steele Creek, and seven others, were killed and fifteen wounded. After Captain Reid's death, Lieutenant Graham commanded his company during the action. He commanded a detachment of infantry that accompanied Colonel Davie's cavalry in the attack on a party of Tories at Wahab's (now Walkup's) plantation at Waxhaw, September, 1780. The infantry was sent through a corn field, when firing on the Tories; the Tories fled out of the mouth of a lane towards the British camp, in the vicinity of which they were met by the cavalry and defeated. When the British army entered Charlotte, September 26, 1780, Lieutenant Graham retreated with General Davidson's army to Phifer's, beyond Rocky River, and now in Cabarrus County. The enemy not advancing, but showing a disposition to remain in Charlotte for some time, Capt. James Thompson and Lieut. George Graham, by permission of General Davidson, returned to their homes and collected a party of fourteen men, and on the 3d of October defeated Major Doyle, who commanded a foraging party of upwards of five hundred, at McIntyre's, on the Beattie's Ford road, seven miles from Charlotte. While Lord Cornwallis

remained in Charlotte, they continued in the thickets about Long Creek and the heads of Sugar and Paw Creeks and procured rations at night. They made arrangements with the women who resided on the roads leading north and west from Charlotte, to give them notice by flags or other signals of any parties that should pass out, but the enemy sent no foraging parties in that direction after the affair at McIntyre's. Major Steadman, the Commissary General of Lord Cornwallis, in his history, refers to the attention that this command paid to his forces. He says that the men of this country, instead of remaining at home to receive pay for such provisions as he might wish to purchase for the army, were organized in predatory bands, attacking the trains sent out to procure supplies. There is an account of the affair at McIntyre's Branch, and also of the battle of Hanging Rock, in Part II of this book.

George Graham was present as a volunteer in his brother's company of cavalry at the battle of Cowan's Ford, February 1, 1781. In the spring of that year he was Adjutant of one of the regiments called "State Troops" (Colonel Polk), raised by South Carolina in Mecklenburg County for a term of ten months, and belonging to the command of General Sumter. In this service he was in several skirmishes with both British and Tories; was at the taking of Orangeburg and with the State troops and Washington's cavalry when they were detached to thwart Lord Rawdon's efforts to relieve Ninety-six, and which when General Greene retired, covered his retreat. Some time after this, owing to hard service and a warm climate, he contracted fever, obtained a leave of absence, and with diffi-

culty reached home. He did not recover in time to rejoin his regiment until two months before his term of service expired.

After the close of the Revolutionary War he was frequently in the militia service of the State, and passed through all the grades from Major to Major-General.

SUBSEQUENT TO THE REVOLUTION.

He succeeded his brother Joseph as Sheriff of Mecklenburg County in 1786, and was annually continued in said office until 1792.

The following is a copy of his commission as Sheriff in 1786:

*The State of North Carolina,*

*To George Graham, Esq.—Greeting:*

Out of the Assurance we have of your fidelity, integrity and abilities WE DO by these Presents nominate constitute and appoint you the said George Graham to be Sheriff of Mecklenburg County for one year from the nomination of the said County Court in June last. To have, hold, use, exercise and enjoy the said office of Sheriff together with all powers and authorities, fees, privileges and emoluments which to the said office of sheriff doth or may of right belong or apertain.

Witness RICHARD CASWELL, Esq., our Governor, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief, under his Hand, and the Great Seal of the State, which he has caused to be hereunto affixed at Fayetteville the ninth day of December Anno Dom. 1786 and in the Xith year of our Independence.

R. C. CASWELL.

By His Excellency's Command

W. CASWELL, P. S. (Private Secretary.)

Received of Joseph Graham Eighteen Shillings & Eight pence fees of this Commission.

WINSTON CASWELL.

On retiring as Sheriff in 1792, he entered for collection all arrearages in taxes, executions, etc., in a book, which he used, as shown by dates therein, until 1794.



Mecklenburg then embraced also what is now Cabarrus County till 1793, and a part of Union County till 1842. It contained eighteen captain's beats or districts, outside of Charlotte District. The boundaries of these districts were arranged by a court-martial composed of officers of the militia selected from the regiments or battalions in the county.

In 1792 the districts and commanders were as follows: Charlotte, Captain Isaac Cook; 2 Thos. Alexander, 3 David Caldwell, 4 James Porter, 5 James Tagert, 6 John Long, 7 Archd. Cathey, 8 Samuel Pickens, 9 Paul Phifer, 10 Jos. Shinn, 11 Jacob Stough, 12 John Melchor, 13 Wm. McAnulty, 14 James Harris, 15 Chas. T. Alexander, 16 Tunis Hood, 17 Robert Porter, 18 John Simeson, 19 James Osborne. I also find the name of William Hutcheson, captain in the Charlotte District, which I suppose completed the twenty companies or two regiments of militia.

From credits allowed on settlement in this book we find the prices of articles to have been at that time as follows:

Wool hat 12 shillings,	Cloth for breeches	1£ 12s 6d
Whiskey 5 to 6 shillings per gallon;	Knee buckles	1£ 12s.
Oats 1 shilling per bushel	Linen per yard	7s. 1d.
Wheat 5 to 6 shillings per bushel;		
Corn 3 " " "	Pr. stockings	12s 6d
Flour 3 " " cwt.	Pocket knife	5s 6d
English sbovel 16 "	Flax Wheel	1£ 10s
Salt 20 " " bu.	Check reel	15s
Deer Skin 12 "	Bear skin	1£
Nails 2 " " lb.	Iron per lb.	8d
Pr. Shoes 10 "	1 cotton wheel	16s
Pr. overhalls 15 "	1 set weavers spools	8s.
Making a pair of boots and furnishing sole leather 1£ 16s		

The taxes on the poll in 1790 were

State	3s
County	1s 6d
Poor	1s
District	6d
	<hr/>
Total	6s

A hard (Spanish) dollar was valued at eight shillings currency. There seems to have been no gold coin; gold was received by weight, and was probably unrefined. Twelve hundred and sixty Continental dollars were valued at 1£ 5s. 9d.

The court-house seems to have been repaired and the jail built in 1790, for which we find the following account:

GEN. THOMAS POLK:

CR.

By repairing Court House and Building jail and lot it is on. 154 £

Graham was elected to the House of Commons of the State Legislature in 1792-3-4; to the State Senate in 1798, 1803 to 1812. These elections were held annually prior to 1836.

#### WAR OF 1812-1814.

The following correspondence, copied from the files in the Executive Office, Raleigh, N. C., refer to his career at this period:

##### 1. GENERAL GRAHAM OFFERS HIS SERVICES.

CHARLOTTE, N. C., 21st August, 1813.

SIR:—As there appears no doubt but it will be necessary to employ a military force to suppress what is called the War Party of the Creek Indians: in behalf of myself and a number of citizens of Mecklenburg County, I say to the number of 150 or 200, do hereby tender

our voluntary services whenever your Excellency will sanction and direct us to proceed on the expedition.

I am Sir with high regard,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GEO. GRAHAM,

*Maj. Genl. 4th Division N. C. Militia.*

To His Excellency,

WILLIAM HAWKINS.

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## 2. THE GOVERNOR'S REPLY.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, N. C.,

RALEIGH, 16th Oct., 1813.

SIR:—Your letter communicating the voluntary tender of service on your part and in behalf of a number of citizens of Mecklenburg County to aid in suppressing the hostile Creek Indians; I had the pleasure to receive a few days ago on my arrival in this city after a short absence.

It is highly gratifying to me to have it in my power to communicate to the President of the United States the offer of services of a military association headed by a distinguished Revolutionary patriot and composed of the citizens of that county in our State which in the great contest for the liberty and independence of the United States not only stood foremost but which on some occasions exhibited on duty one solid phalanx of practical patriots.

I am fully persuaded that the General Government will authorize the acceptance of your services.

I take the liberty to suggest to you the propriety of immediately enrolling yourselves and transmitting a copy of that enrollment to me. I shall without delay communicate your tender to the President whose answer shall be forwarded to you as soon as it is received. Permit me to offer to you and through you to those brave citizens with whom you are associated an assurance of the high consideration and respect with which I have the honor to be

Your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM HAWKINS.

To GEN. GEO. GRAHAM.

## 3. REPLY OF THE UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.

WAR OFFICE, NOV. 5, 1813.

*His Excellency* WM. HAWKINS.

SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of Oct. 21st addressed to the Secretary of War.

The detachments which have been made from the militia of Georgia and Tennessee for that purpose I deem sufficient to co-operate with regular troops in chastising the hostile Creek Indians.

With great respect I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

DANIEL PARKER,  
*Chief Clerk.*

To His Excellency

WM. HAWKINS.

## 4. GOV. HAWKIN'S LETTER, ENCLOSING REPLY OF WAR OFFICE.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, N. C.,

RALEIGH, 25 Dec., 1813.

SIR:—I have the honor to transmit to you the enclosed copy of a letter from the War Office from which you will learn that no necessity existed for the services of yourself and those patriotic citizens who volunteered under you to aid in suppressing the hostile Creek Indians.

I am very respectfully, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM HAWKINS.

To Major General GEORGE GRAHAM.

It will be noticed in the history of Gen. Joseph Graham relative to this period, that in less than sixty days subsequent to this the President made a requisition upon the States of North and South Carolina each for a regiment of detached militia, which regiments composed the brigade commanded by General Graham.

In 1816 he was appointed Clerk of the Superior Court of Mecklenburg County, which position he held until 1825, when he resigned on account of ill health. At this time the term of the office of Clerk was for life or good behavior.

He married Fannie Cathey, daughter of George Cathey, who bore him the following children:

John, who died unmarried in 1826.

George Maurice, who died in youth.

Elizabeth, who married William M. Bostwick.

Polly, who married George Caruth.

Jennie, who married William E. McRee.

Frances, who died in infancy

Mrs. Graham died in 1793, and he afterwards married Mrs. Lydia Potts, widow of William Potts. They had no children.

He died March 29, 1826, and is buried near the gate in the old Presbyterian Cemetery in Charlotte. Near him lie his son-in-law, George Caruth, and his brother Joseph's daughter, Mrs. Sophia Witherspoon.

## CHAPTER III—JOSEPH GRAHAM.

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1. PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.
  2. SERVICES IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.
  3. SUBSEQUENT TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.
  4. SUBSEQUENT TO THE REVOLUTION.
  5. MANUFACTURE OF IRON IN LINCOLN COUNTY.
  6. WAR OF 1812-'14.
  7. CIVIL AND PERSONAL HISTORY IN LINCOLN COUNTY.
  8. CHILDREN AND GRAND-CHILDREN.
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## I. PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Joseph Graham, youngest son of James Graham, was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, October 13, 1759. He came, when about seven years of age, with his mother to Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. He assisted in cultivating his mother's farm, and attended school in Charlotte. He was distinguished among his fellow students for talents, industry and the most manly and conciliating deportment. His thirst for knowledge led him at an early period to become well acquainted with all those interesting events which preceded and prepared for our Revolutionary struggle. At the age of fifteen years, while a student at Queen's Museum, he was present in Charlotte on the 20th of May, 1775, when the celebrated Declaration of Independence was formally made and published. The deep impressions made upon his mind by the solemn and momentous decisions of that day gave good evidence that he was then preparing for the noble stand which he took during the war. He prepared for J. Seawell Jones the following account of the proceedings of that notable convention and attendant circumstances, which Mr.

Jones published in his book, "The Defence of North Carolina":

VESUVIUS FURNACE, 4th October, 1830.

DEAR SIR:—Agreeably to your request, I will give you the details of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence on the 20th of May, 1775, as well as I can recollect after a lapse of fifty-five years. I was then a lad about half grown, was present on that occasion (a looker-on).

During the Winter and Spring preceding that event, several popular meetings of the people were held in Charlotte; two of which I attended. Papers were read, grievances stated, and public measures discussed. As printing was not then common in the South, the papers were mostly manuscript; one or more of which was from the pen of the Reverend Doctor Reese, (then of Mecklenburg), which met with general approbation, and copies of it circulated. It is to be regretted that those and other papers published at that period, and the journal of their proceedings, are lost. They would show much of the spirit and tone of thinking which prepared them for the measures they afterwards adopted.

On the 20th of May, 1775, besides the two persons elected from each militia company, (usually called Committee-men,) a much larger number of citizens attended in Charlotte than at any former meeting—perhaps half the men in the county. The news of the battle of Lexington, the 19th of April preceding, had arrived. There appeared among the people much excitement. The committee were organized in the Court-house by appointing Abraham Alexander, Esq., Chairman, and John McKnitt Alexander, Esq., Clerk or Secretary to the meeting.

After reading a number of papers as usual, and much animated discussion, the question was taken, and they resolved to declare themselves independent. One among other reasons offered, that the King or Ministry had, by proclamation or other edict, declared the Colonies out of the protection of the British Crown; they ought therefore, to declare themselves out of his protection, and resolve on independence. That their proceedings might be in due form, a sub-committee, consisting of Dr. Ephraim Brevard, a Mr. Kennon, an attorney, and a third person, whom I do not recollect, were appointed to draft their Declaration. They retired from the Court-house for some time; but the committee continued in session in it. One circumstance occurred I distinctly remember: A member of

the committee, who had said but little before, addressed the Chairman as follows: "If you resolve on independence, how shall we all be absolved from the obligations of the oath we took to be true to King George the 3rd about four years ago,\* after the Regulation battle, when we were sworn whole militia companies together. I should be glad to know how gentlemen can clear their consciences after taking that oath." This speech produced confusion. The Chairman could scarcely preserve order, so many wished to reply. There appeared great indignation and contempt at the speech of the member. Some said it was nonsense; others that allegiance and protection were reciprocal; when protection was withdrawn, allegiance ceased; that the oath was only binding while the King protected us in the enjoyment of our rights and liberties as they existed at the time it was taken; which he had not done, but now declared us out of his protection; therefore was not binding. Any man who would interpret it otherwise, was a fool. By way of illustration, one speaker (pointing to a green tree near the court-house) stated, if he was sworn to do any thing as long as the leaves continued on that tree, it was so long binding; but when the leaves fell, he was discharged from its obligation. This was said to be certainly applicable in the present case. Out of respect for a worthy citizen, long since deceased, and his respectable connections, I forbear to mention names; for though he was a friend to the cause, a suspicion rested on him in the public mind for some time after.

The sub-committee appointed to draft resolutions returned and Doctor Ephraim Brevard read their report, as near as I can recollect, in the very words we have since seen them several times in print. It was unanimously adopted, and shortly after it was moved and seconded to have proclamation made and the people collected, that the proceedings be read at the Court-house door, in order that all might hear them. It was done, and they were received with enthusiasm. It was then proposed by some one aloud to give three cheers and throw up their hats. It was immediately adopted, and the hats thrown. Several of them lit on the Court-house roof. The owners had some difficulty to reclaim them.

The foregoing is all from personal knowledge. I understood afterwards that Captain James Jack, then of Charlotte, undertook, on the request of the committee, to carry a copy of their proceedings to Congress, which then sat in Philadelphia; and on his way at Salisbury, the time of court, Mr. Kennon, who was one of the committee who assisted in drawing the Declaration, prevailed on



Capt. Jack to get his papers, and have them read publicly; which was done and the proceedings met with general approbation. But two of the lawyers, John Dunn and a Mr. Booth, dissented, and asserted they were treasonable, and endeavored to have Captain Jack detained. He drew his pistols, and threatened to kill the first man who would interrupt him, and passed on. The news of this reached Charlotte in a short time after, and the executive powers, ordered a party of ten or twelve armed men to bring said Lawyers from Salisbury;\* when they were brought, and the case investigated before the committee. Dunn, on giving security and making fair promises, was permitted to return, and Booth was sentenced to go to Camden, in South Carolina, out of the sphere of his influence. My brother George Graham and the late Col. John Carruth were of the party that went to Salisbury and it is distinctly remembered that when in Charlotte they came home at night, in order to provide for their trip to Camden; and that they and two others of the party took Booth to that place. This was the first military expedition from Mecklenburg in the Revolutionary War, and believed to be the first any where to the South.

Yours respectfully,

J. GRAHAM.

DR. JOS. MCKT. ALEXANDER, Mecklenburg, N. Carolina.

The first discovery of evidence of the publication of the proceedings of the Mecklenburg meeting in May, 1775, was by General Graham in 1816 or '17, among the valuable papers of an old German neighbor, whose will he was requested to write.

It was a contemporary newspaper containing the proclamation of the Royal Governor Martin, August 8, 1775, denouncing a set of resolutions purporting to be a Declaration of Independence by Mecklenburg County which he had seen printed in the *Cape Fear Mercury*. Governor Martin sent this newspaper to the Colonial Secretary, June 30, 1775. June 20, 1775, Governor

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\* After the battle of Alamance in May 1771, Gov. Tryon sent Hugh Waddell with a military force through Mecklenburg, Tryon and the western part of Rowan county; the militia were ordered to assemble at appointed places and take the oath of allegiance to King George, Ramsaur's Mill in Tryon county was one of the places of assembly.

James Wright, of Georgia, sent him the *South Carolina Gazette* and *County Journal* of June, 1775, No. 498, containing the resolves of the Mecklenburg committee. These resolves were published at the same time, June 13, 1775, in Timothy's *Carolina Gazette*, and subsequently in the *New York Journal* and the *Massachusetts Spy*. General Graham's discovery is the only known copy of Governor Martin's proclamation. With it was found his proclamation issued at Charlotte, October 3, 1780, and published in Part II.

MECKLENBURG DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, MAY 20TH, 1775.

[Martin's History, Vol. 2, Page 373.]

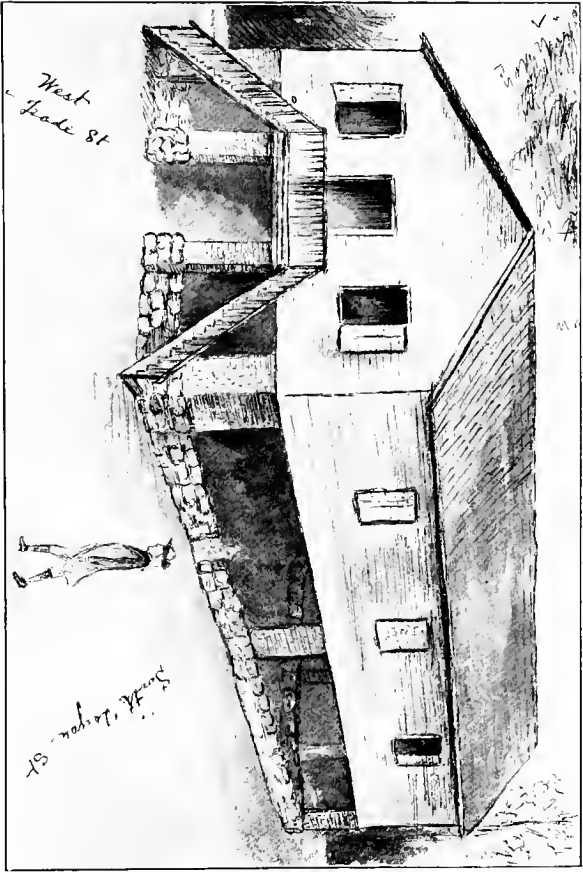
*Resolved.*—That whosoever directly or indirectly abets or in any way, form or manner countenances the invasion of our rights, as attempted by the Parliament of Great Britain, is an enemy to his country, to America, and the rights of men.

*Resolved.*—That we the citizens of Mecklenburg county do hereby dissolve the political hands which have connected us with the mother country, and absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British crown, abjuring all political connection with a nation that has wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of Americans at Lexington.

*Resolved.*—That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing people, under the power of God and the General Congress; to the maintenance of which independence, we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

*Resolved.*—That we hereby ordain and adopt as rules of conduct, all and each of our former laws, and the crown of Great Britain cannot be considered hereafter as holding any rights, privileges or immunities amongst us.

*Resolved.*—That all officers, both civil and military, in this county, be entitled to exercise the same powers and authorities as heretofore: that every member of this delegation shall henceforth be a civil officer and exercise the powers of a justice of the peace, issue process, hear and determine controversies according to law, preserve peace,



MECKLENBURG COURT-HOUSE, CHARLOTTE, N. C.  
In Which the Meeting was Held May 20, 1775.



union and harmony, in the county, and use every exertion to spread the love of liberty and of country, until a more general, and better organized system of Government be established.

*Resolved.*—That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted by express to the President of the Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia.

ABRAHAM ALEXANDER, *Chairman.*

JOHN MCKNITT ALEXANDER, *Secretary.*

EPHRAIM BREVARD,	ADAM ALEXANDER,	HEZEKIAH ALEXANDER,
ZACCHEUS WILSON,	CHARLES ALEXANDER,	HEZEKIAH J. BALCH,
JAMES HARRIS,	JOHN PHIFER,	WAIGHTSTILL AVERY.
MATTHEW MCCLURE,	BENJAMIN PATTON,	WILLIAM KENNON,
RICHARD BARRY,	JOHN FORD,	NEIL MORRISON,
JOHN FLENNEGIN,	ROBERT IRWIN,	HENRY DOWNE,
WILLIAM GRAHAM,	EZRA ALEXANDER,	DAVID REESE,
RICHARD HARRIS,	JOHN DAVIDSON,	JOHN QUEARY,
	THOMAS POLK, sen'r.	

[From the Miners' and Farmers' Journal, Charlotte, N. C., May 22, 1835.]

THE GREAT CELEBRATION OF THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

The streets of Charlotte were thronged throughout the day with a dense crowd of people from all the surrounding country to witness the imposing spectacle of the first grand celebration of our own independence. The feeling and enthusiasm of the whole multitude was beyond anything we ever witnessed. The Revolutionary soldiers—with their satin badges marked '75 instead of '76—the great men of our State and a numerous concourse of strangers from South Carolina and the more distant counties of our own State, were present and joined in the celebration. The day was unusually splendid.

The immense military parade under the command of Gen. Polk opened the ceremonies of the day. His Excellency, the Governor, was present and reviewed the troops. At 12 o'clock the military passed through the streets, and the procession formed and joined in opposite Dr. Boyd's Hotel. Thence they proceeded to the church grove where arrangements had been made for the delivery of the oration and the reading of the Mecklenburg Declaration. The stand from which the oration was delivered was wreathed all around with flowers—a decoration for which we were indebted to the taste of the young ladies of Charlotte. The grove was crowded all around further than the human voice could reach—and it is no exaggeration

to say there were five thousand within hearing of the stand. [Bear in mind that Charlotte was still a village and without railroad transportation.]

At precisely half past one the Rev. Mr. Armstrong opened with a prayer; and then followed Mr. Osborne, the reader of the Declaration, who prefaced his talk with a few eloquent and pertinent remarks. He then read the Declaration and gave out the names of the signers in a loud and impressive voice. Then followed the orator, Franklin Smith, Esq. He gave a succinct and eloquent account of the aggressions of the mother country upon the rights of the colonies, and then came down to the period of the Declaration. He sketched the character of the Mecklenburg Convention, and in a strain of feeling eloquence, commemorated the virtues of the heroes of the 20th of May, 1775.

Then came the dinner. Upwards of 600 persons sat down to the table, prepared by Doctor Boyd, in a grove fronting the house of Doctor Caldwell. The greatest good feeling prevailed, and merriment and social cheer went brisk around. The toasts announced as the toasts of the day were arranged by the committee consisting of Mr. Davidson, Dr. Dunlap, Wm. J. Alexander and Franklin Smith, Esqrs. Mr. Senator Mangum, Governor Swain and others spoke at length upon the politics of the day. Gen. Graham gave an interesting historical sketch by way of response to the sentiment [our honored guest] in compliment to him. The whole day went off joyously well.

In the evening there was a splendid ball. The room was crowded with ladies, gaily attired, who seemed to enjoy the celebration as much as the youth of the country. The supper table was beautifully arranged and the large centre *Cake* was gilded with the inscription—*The 20th of May, 1775*. Charlotte has not seen such a day for 60 years.

In our hurry to go to press we are obliged to omit the Toasts and the letters from invited guests, who could not attend, and a more particular account and notice of the proceedings of the day.

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## 2. SERVICES IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

In May, 1778, at the age of 18 years, Graham enlisted as a private in Captain Gooden's company, 4th Regt. N. C. Line, Col. Archibald Lytle. The regiment ren-

dezvoused in Caswell County. He was appointed Quarter-Master Sergeant. There being no immediate call for its services, he, with others, took a furlough until fall. From November 5, 1778, to August, 1779, he served under Generals Rutherford and Sumner in the campaign in the vicinity of Charleston, S. C. His company was transferred to a regiment of light infantry commanded by Colonel Malmedy. The Quartermaster dying in December, 1778, he performed the duties of the position for the remainder of the campaign. The quartermaster then performed the duties of both commissary and quartermaster as now administered.

Those who participated in this campaign were to be exempt from service for three years. Notwithstanding this exemption, in May, 1780, having learned while plowing in his mother's field of the threatened advance of the British army, he repaired to Charlotte and volunteered his services. He was appointed Adjutant of the regiment of Mecklenburg militia then ordered on duty, and served with these troops in opposing the British under Lord Rawdon. In September he was appointed captain of a company of mounted infantry in the command of Col. W. R. Davie, and was severely wounded near Charlotte, September 26. He continued in service until March 1781. In August, 1781, he enlisted a company of dragoons, which were assigned to the battalion of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, of which he was appointed Major, October, 1781, and served on the Cape Fear and near Wilmington until November of that year, when his services terminated.

He had participated in the following engagements, viz.: Skirmish with McGirt, who preceded Tarleton in the command of the British cavalry, and the Battle of

Stono, in the Charleston campaign, 1778-9; Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock, in opposing the forces of Lord Rawdon, Charlotte and Cross-Roads, 1780; Cowan's Ford, Shallow Ford, Hart's Mill, Pyle's Massacre, Clapp's Mill, skirmish near Hawkins' farm and Whitsell's Mill, spring of 1781; McFall's Mill, Raft Swamp, Moore's plantation, Brick House opposite Wilmington, and Seven Creeks, Brunswick County, N. C., in the fall of 1781.

He was just twenty-two years of age at the close of his active services in the Revolutionary War. He entered the army as a private, passed through the grades of Orderly Sergeant, Quartermaster Sergeant, Quartermaster, Adjutant, Captain, and retired with the rank of Major. He never held commission in the regular militia organization of the State. His services were all of a volunteer nature; his commands being formed of men subject to militia duty, but organized for extraordinary service; exemption from service for a specified time in the regular militia force being promised for service on these occasions. He never availed himself of these exemptions, but promptly tendered his services on every needed occasion. His commanding officers from whom he received all his appointments always had some special work to assign him. Upon the appearance of the enemy in his vicinity, regardless of exemptions or the calls of private business, he promptly reported for duty in any service that might be committed to him.

This closed his services in the Revolutionary War. He commanded in fifteen engagements with wisdom, calmness, courage and success to a degree perhaps surpassed by no other officer of the same rank. Hundreds



who served under his command have testified to the upright, faithful, prudent and undaunted manner in which he discharged the duties of his responsible stations. Never was he known to shrink from any toil, however painful, or quail before any dangers, however threatening, or to avoid any privations or sacrifices which might promote his country's cause. To secure her liberties he spent many toilsome days and sleepless nights, for her his body was covered with wounds; and for her he endured fatigue, sickness and suffering without a murmur; to her welfare he consecrated his time, treasure and influence during a long, unblemished life. It was not by empty words or arrogant pretensions, but by self-denying and long-continued actions that he proved himself devoted to the welfare of his country.

In June, 1832, Congress granted pensions to all surviving Revolutionary soldiers at the rate they received when in service, no one to receive more than the pay of a captain. To obtain this pension, General Graham made the following affidavit before Lincoln County Court—it is a good summary of his services:

DECLARATION OF GENERAL JOSEPH GRAHAM, IN ORDER TO  
OBTAIN THE BENEFIT OF THE ACT OF CONGRESS,  
PASSED JUNE 7, 1832.

“On this 30th day of October, personally appeared in open Court before the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for the county of Lincoln, in North Carolina, now sitting, Gen. Joseph Graham, a resident of said county and State, aged seventy-three years, who, first being duly sworn according to law, doth on his oath make the following declaration in order to obtain the benefit of the act of Congress, passed June 7, 1832:

“That he enlisted in the army of the United States early in the month of May, 1778, and served in the Fourth Regiment of the North Carolina Line, under Col. Archibald Lytle, in Captain Gooden’s company; a part of the time; and the balance as Quartermaster-Sergeant. The terms of the enlistment were to serve nine months after arriving at the place of rendezvous, which was stated to be at Bladensburgh, in the State of Maryland.

“These troops assembled in Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, where he then lived, and by slow movements marched on to near the Virginia line, detaining by the way for the recruits from the other counties to join. The field officers on this march were Col. Wm. L. Davidson, Majors Wm. Polk and Henry Dickson (commonly called Hal Dickson), Capt. Smith Harris and others. When all assembled, encamped in Caswell County, at a place called Moon’s Creek. At this place received intelligence of the Battle of Monmouth, and that the British were gone to New York; that our services were not wanted in the North, and after some delay, the men became uneasy; their term of service had not yet commenced, and they were uncertain when it would; a mutiny took place, which was suppressed with some difficulty; some officers broke their swords, and some of the soldiers were crippled.

“It was afterwards proposed to such of the soldiers as would, to take furloughs until the fall, that their term of service should then commence. Most of those from the upper counties took furloughs, of whom this deponent was one, and he returned home to Mecklenburg, where he then resided; about three months after he had

left. Some time in August in the year 1778, he was again called into service and marched from Charlotte on the 5th day of November following, under command of General Rutherford with his brigade of five-months militia men (Colonel Lytle commanded the regulars), to the Ten-mile House, above Charleston, where he drew arms and camp equipage; from thence to Purysburg on Savannah River, where General Lincoln commanded; and the regulars from North Carolina were organized in two regiments under Colonels Lytle and Armstrong; the brigade under Brigadier-General Sumner; and this deponent, and company under Captain Gooden; which company and one commanded by Capt. Wm. Goodman, were shortly after transferred to a regiment of light infantry, which, after General Ashe was defeated at Briar Creek, was augmented by some companies of militia and placed under command of Colonel Malmedy (a Frenchman), and Maj. John Nelson, of the North Carolina Line. From the time the regiment of infantry was formed, this deponent acted as Quartermaster-Sergeant to the end of the campaign. Lieutenant Hillton (of the regulars), who was appointed Quartermaster, being in bad health and dying about the last of the year, this deponent discharged the whole duty, most of the time. During this service he was in a skirmish with McGirt, who commanded the British cavalry before Tarleton's arrival. Said regiment of light infantry was twice detached under the command of Count Pulaski, in one of which services a lieutenant, Chevalier Devallile (a Frenchman), in a rencontre with a British picquet, received a mortal wound; he was in the Battle of Stono, on the 20th day of June, 1779; was discharged near

Dorchester, S. C., he thinks by Col. Archibald Lytle, some time about the beginning of August, 1779; said discharge, and many other papers relating to that service, were given up to the Board of Commissioners, who sat at Warrenton in the year 1786, for the adjustment of the claims of the North Carolina Line.

“Was taken with the bilious fever a few days before the term of service was up, and had much difficulty, but by the assistance of a friend, after some time got home; and was not fully recovered at the end of two months. The terms on which this service was performed were to be exempted from military duties for three years after. His spirits were so depressed by the fever and recollection of the hardships of a southern campaign in the summer, along the seaboard, he was disposed to avail himself of the privilege allowed him by the law, until about the latter end of May, when Colonel Buford was defeated, and it was announced the enemy were within thirty-five or forty miles; when the militia were ordered out, *en masse*. This deponent joined them, and from the experience he had in military duties, was appointed Adjutant to the Mecklenburg regiment. From that county, being a frontier, and no other force to protect it, a part of said regiment, and some times all, were kept in the service most of the summer, and this deponent with them. The foot, under Gen. W. L. Davidson, encamped southeast of Charlotte, and the horse, under Colonel Davie, were patrolling the country as far as Waxhaw, and the adjoining counties in the west, which were disaffected. On the 25th of September, heard that the whole British army were on the march from Camden. General Davidson immediately decamped, marched

toward Salisbury and ordered this deponent to Charlotte to join Colonel Davie, and take command of such of the inhabitants as should collect there on the news of the approach of the enemy—fifty-odd collected. In the disposition Colonel Davie made for resistance as the enemy entered the village this deponent commanded the reserve, and sustained the retreat by molesting the advance of the enemy for four miles against their whole cavalry and a battalion of infantry which followed; at last they charged, when Colonel Davie was not in supporting distance, and this deponent received nine wounds (the scars of which this Court testify are visible at this time); that he was left on the ground and afterwards taken to the hospital, and it was upwards of two months before his wounds were healed; that after he recovered, the enemy were said to be in Winnsborough, S. C. The term of the militia who had been in service under General Davidson and Colonel Davie had expired.

“General Davidson, some time in the month of December, stated to this deponent that it was the opinion of General Greene the enemy would again advance in North Carolina as soon as a reinforcement and some stores on the way from Charleston should arrive; and that a call must be made for another draft. He wanted a part cavalry, and as Colonel Davie was now Commissary-General with General Greene, he did not expect him to furnish it. If this deponent would raise a company or more, he should be entitled to such rank as the numbers would justify; that as an encouragement, each man would find his own horse and equipments and serve

at that time for six weeks, it should stand in place of a tour of duty of three months, the time required by law.

“The deponent, therefore, set out among the youth of his acquaintance, and in two or three weeks had upwards of fifty. The principal difficulty was to procure arms—they generally had rifles; carried the muzzle in a small boot fixed to a strap fastened beside the right stirrup leather, and the butt ran through their shot-bag belt, so that the lock came directly under the right arm; near half the swords were made by blacksmiths of the country. Those who had a pistol, had it swung by a strap the size of a bridle rein, on the left side over the sword, which was hung higher than the modern way of wearing them; so as not to entangle their legs when acting on foot. Their equipments were not splendid; they were the best that could be procured at that time, and in the hands of the men who used them ultimately as serviceable as arms that looked much finer. They had at all times all their arms with them, whether on foot or on horseback, and could move individually or collectively, as circumstances might require, without depending on commissary, quartermaster or other staff.

“After Tarleton’s defeat on the 17th of January, 1781, the enemy in pursuit of General Morgan came to Cowan’s Ford on the Catawba, on the 1st day of February. This deponent had two of his company killed opposing their passage, and his was the only company that went off the battle-ground in order and covered the retreat; at the same time our General Davidson fell. On the 7th of February, this deponent’s company, hanging on the rear of the British, on their march from Shallow Ford, on the Yadkin, to Salem, routed a small party,

killed one, and took five prisoners (regulars). After this the North Carolina militia were placed under the command of Gen. Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina, and this deponent's company, with others under Col. Joseph Dickson, passed on over Haw River; was dispatched by General Pickens in the evening, with part of his company, and some riflemen from Rowan, forty-five in number, marched in the night of the 17th, at light next morning, surprised and killed or took prisoners a guard of an officer and twenty-six men, at Hart's Mills, one and a half miles from Hillsboro, where the British army then lay; the evening of the same day formed a junction with Colonel (Light-horse Harry) Lee's legion; a day or two after this Tarleton, with his legion, set out over Haw River to join Colonel or Doctor Pyles, and Lee after him. This deponent's company and all the militia equipped as dragoons, were placed under Lee, in the rear of his dragoons; on falling in with Pyles and the Tories, instead of Tarleton, Lee passed along the front of their line in a parallel direction. Although he (Graham) knew their character, Lee's men, who had recently come to the South, did not; when the militia came near and discovered the strip of red cloth each man had on his hat, they made the first attack on the Tories; some of our blacksmith's swords were broken, others bent, etc. Tarleton, who was then in the vicinity, as soon as informed of the result, set off for Hillsboro; we pursued about half way, and not overtaking, turned to the left up the country. The next day, he having got a reinforcement, came after us, attacked our picquet guard in the night; in the firing killed Maj. Micajah Lewis, a Continental officer, and compelled us to

move. After various movements, and both armies having got to the south of Haw River, near Alamance Creek, on the 2d of March, a detachment of about six hundred (all militia, except Lee's Legion) advanced in three columns under his command. This deponent and company in front of the left, with orders to support the left flank; after passing through a farm, near Clapp's Mill, and entering a coppice of woods, encountered a large party of the enemy drawn up in position, a smart firing commenced, and after three or four rounds, our line gave way; the ground was so hampered with thick underbrush, and the Tories pressing us on the left flank, the retreat was effected with difficulty; retreated about one mile to the ford, on Big Alamance, where Col. Otho Williams, the regulars under his command, and Washington's cavalry, were drawn up to support us; the enemy did not pursue more than five hundred yards; in the affair two were killed, three wounded, and two taken prisoners of this deponent's company, seven in all. On the 1st of March, the term of service for which the men had engaged was up, and about two-thirds of them would go home, the others were persuaded to stay longer, being daily in expectation of a general action.

"The day after the battle at Clapp's Mill, Colonel Lee ordered this deponent to take twenty-five men and go to where the battle was, and see if the enemy were there; if gone, take their trail, credit no report of the inhabitants, but proceed until we actually saw the British troops. At the battle ground found the British had gone after burying their own dead and leaving ours; took the trail in the evening, came in view of their sentries on the Salisbury road, within half a mile of



their headquarters, and directly dispatched a sergeant and six of the party to inform Lee; the rest of our party moved after dark through the woods, with a view of taking two sentries we had seen in the evening. In this we failed, but after they had fired at us we went briskly up the main road. In half a mile met a patrol of their cavalry about equal to our number; after hailing, briskly discharged a volley in their faces; they retreated and took to the woods; we took their officer prisoner, the rest escaped. We turned out of the road in an obscure path. In half a mile halted to take some refreshments. On the great road opposite to us a quarter of a mile distant heard a scattering fire and considerable noise which lasted for some time. Two days after we learned from a deserter that on report of the sentries in the evening, the patrol was sent up the road after us, and were returning when we met and dispersed them. When they came into camp from different directions, upwards of one hundred cavalry were sent up the road after us, and at eleven o'clock at night met a company of Tories coming in to join them. Not doubting that it was the party which had defeated their picquet, they instantly charged them, and considerable slaughter was made before it was discovered they were friends. These small affairs did more to suppress Toryism to the south than anything that had before occurred. A few days before at Piles' defeat, they had been cut up by Lee's men and ours, when they thought it was their friend Tarleton; in the present case they were cut up by the British, when they thought it was the Americans. It is not known that any of them attempted to join the British afterwards.

“This deponent and company some days after were in the action at Whitsell’s Mill, on Reedy Fork, under command of Colonel Washington, when Colonel Webster, with the elite of the British army, for twelve miles pressed us so closely as to compel Colonel Otho Williams, the commander, to fight at this place. The men whom I had persuaded thus long to remain for a general action, being disappointed, and having nothing but heavy skirmishing, in which they still had to act a prominent part, determined to go home; which they reported to General Greene. He ordered this deponent to go with them and keep them in a compact body until they got through the disaffected settlements on the east side of the Yadkin. We passed that river on the 14th of March, 1781, and on the 17th most of the company got home. Although the company were engaged to serve only six weeks, about two-thirds of them served upwards of two months. From the time I undertook to raise the company until I returned home, about three months. Owing to the early death of General Davidson, under whose orders I acted, I had no written commission, but Colonel Dickson, under whom I was afterwards placed, gave a written discharge some time after. In this service was in eight battles or skirmishes, and lost nine men by the enemy, viz., four killed, three wounded, and two prisoners.

“After the battle of Guilford, the enemy marched to Wilmington and left a garrison there, but no militia services were called for in the west until the month of August, 1781, though the Tories, under the protection of the British, had possession of the country south of Cape Fear up to and above Fayetteville. And Colonel

Fanning of the Tories surprised Hillsboro and took Governor Burke prisoner. General Rutherford, who had been captured at Gates' defeat, and with other distinguished citizens confined for twelve months in the castle of St. Augustine, had been exchanged, and returned about this time. He sent this deponent orders to raise a troop of dragoons in Mecklenburg. Many of those who had served the preceding winter joined it. There were but four married men in the troop. Our headquarters were near Pedee. Deponent did not receive the commission herewith sent until several days after the organization. His reason for applying for it was that on former occasions officers who had acted under verbal appointments, and had been taken prisoners, had not been represented as officers, but treated as common soldiers. When the drafts were assembled a legionary corps was formed under the command of Col. R. Smith, who had been a captain in the North Carolina line; it consisted of three troops of dragoons, about ninety-six troopers and two hundred mounted infantry. This deponent was appointed major, as will appear by the commission and other papers herewith. Two days afterwards the general having information that the Tories embodied on Raft Swamp, upwards of six hundred in number, were about to retreat before him towards Wilmington, detached this deponent with the dragoons and forty mounted men with orders to endeavor to hold them at bay or impede their march, so that he might follow and overtake them. When they were overtaken, the ground appearing favorable, they were charged by the dragoons and entirely defeated

and dispersed, twenty or thirty being killed and wounded entirely with sabre.

“This deponent was afterwards detached by Colonel Smith with one troop of dragoons and two companies of mounted men. At Moore’s plantation, a mile below the ferry at Wilmington, surprised and defeated about one hundred Tories, killed and wounded twelve; next day was an unsuccessful attack on a British garrison in a brick house that covered the ferry opposite Wilmington; had one of our party killed.

“This deponent was afterwards detached, by order of General Rutherford, with three companies, one of dragoons, by Brunswick, over Lockwood’s Folly and Waccamaw River. At a place called Seven Creeks, near the South Carolina line, was attacked about midnight by the noted Colonel Gainey of South Carolina, who was then under a truce with General Marion, but it appears did not consider it binding in North Carolina, had one of our party killed and two wounded, and four horses killed. The cavalry charged and defeated the Tories and killed one of Gainey’s party.

“For the further evidence of this service, see General Rutherford’s order to this deponent (after the British had left Wilmington), dated Wilmington, Nov. 18th, 1781, and the orders this deponent gave to those under his command when acting in pursuance of said order. The whole service was something over three months. Lost two men killed, and two wounded, and was in four battles.

## RECAPITULATION OF THE FOREGOING SERVICES.

*In the Regular Service.*

“From the month of May, 1778, until the same time in August, when furloughed to go home, 3 months.

“From the 5th day of November, 1778, to the 5th of August, 1779, 9 months.

*In the Militia Service.*

“From about the 1st of June, 1780, until the 17th of March, 1781, including the time lying in the hospital and disabled from service, except about two weeks after got well of wounds, say  $9\frac{1}{4}$  months— $9\frac{1}{4}$  months.

“From about 20th of August, 1781, to 1st of December, to Wilmington,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  months—total  $24\frac{1}{2}$  months.

“The deponent states that he has a record of his age; that he was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, on the 13th day of October, 1759; that he removed to Mecklenburg County, in the State of North Carolina, when about ten years of age; was present in Charlotte on the 20th day of May, 1775, when the committee of the county of Mecklenburg made their celebrated Declaration of Independence of the British Crown, upwards of a year before the Congress of the United States did at Philadelphia; that he resided in Mecklenburg County until 1792, and since that time in the county of Lincoln.

“He hereby relinquishes every claim whatever to a pension or annuity except the present, and declares that his name is not on the pension roll of the agency of any State.

“Sworn to and subscribed the day and year aforesaid.

(Signed) “J. GRAHAM.”

To JOSEPH GRAHAM, Esq.—Greeting:

Reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, conduct, and fidelity, I do hereby nominate and appoint you Major of Lieut. Col. Robert Smith's legionary corps in my brigade. You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Major, doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging; and I do strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command, to be obedient to your orders as Major. And you are to observe, and follow from time to time, such orders and directions as you shall receive from your superior officers according to the rules of military discipline and laws of this State.

Given under my hand in Camp, at Rock-fish Bridge, October 7th, A. D. 1781.

(Signed) GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD.

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State of North Carolina.

I do hereby nominate and appoint Joseph Graham, captain of the troop of horse during this present expedition; he is, therefore, to conform himself to all the rules and regulations of the army, and is to obey his superior officers; and I hereby require and command all officers and soldiers under his command to pay strict obedience to his orders.

Given under my hand, this 12th day of September, 1781.

(Signed) GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD, *B. G. M.*

This is to certify that Major Joseph Graham, with a troop of horse served a tour of six weeks' duty agreeable to Gen. Davidson orders under command.

(Signed) Jo. DICKSON, *Col.*  
July 25, 1782.

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To MAJ. JOSEPH GRAHAM.

SIR:—You are hereby authorized and directed to take command of the whole of the dragoons and mounted infantry of Col. Smith's corps, who are now on the leftward of the Northwest River. You are then to join Col. Leonard and take such a route as will tend most effectually to disperse and finally subdue such Tories and disaffected people as continue embodied in the settlements bordering on this State and adjoining to South Carolina; and you are to continue in this service as long as may appear to you necessary for

accomplishing this purpose. Then to march your command home, not suffering them to disperse until you may have crossed the Great Pee Dee, then regularly discharge your troops.

(Signed) GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD, B. G. M.

Nov. 18, 1781.

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CAMP MARSH CASTLE, Nov. 21, 1781.

Orders:—Officer of the day, to-morrow, Capt. Cummins: Guard to consist of one Lieut., one Sergeant, twelve Privates; every person in camp to immediately enroll with Capt. Carruth Cummins, or with Lieut. Baldwin; those who have been officers during the campaign to be called on as such: troops to hold themselves in readiness to march precisely at six o'clock in the morning. And it is required that the most profound silence and greatest order is observed on the march, throughout the whole of this route.

N. B. Returns to be made by eight o'clock this evening.

(Signed)

JOS. GRAHAM,  
Maj. Commanding.

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CAMP ENNY'S BRIDGE, Nov. 22, 1781.

Orders:—Officer of the day, to-morrow, Capt. Carruth, troops to be on the alarm post at five, and march at six. Lieut. Baldwin with his troops to continue at the bridge until the other troops have passed the Swamp, then return such a route as he may think best.

(Signed)

JOS. GRAHAM, Maj.

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Camp Mr. Barnes' Plantation, Ashpool,  
Nov. 23rd, 1781.

Orders:—Officer of the day, to-morrow, Capt. Cummins. Guard to consist of ten Privates, Officer and Sergeant; Troops to march at six o'clock in the morning. Guard two hundred paces in rear, two swordsmen same distance in rear of them; no detached party or guard on the march to fire a gun if it can be avoided except at a party or when we may stop to forage on individuals.

(Signed)

JOS. GRAHAM,  
Major.

Jonas Bradshaw, a resident of Lincoln County, North Carolina, being sworn in open court deposeth that he served in the same company and regiment with Joseph Graham the whole time from early in the month of May, 1778, until the 5th day of August, 1779; except the time they were furloughed some time in August, 1778, until the 5th day of November following and that said Graham acted as Orderly Sergeant to Captain Gooden's company part of the time and as Quartermaster sergeant to the regiment a greater part of the time.

Sworn and subscribed to the day and year aforesaid.

his

(Signed) JONAS X BRADSHAW.

mark

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We, Hartwell Spain, a clergyman residing in the County of Lincoln, and Jacob Forney residing in the same, hereby certify that we are well acquainted with General Joseph Graham who has subscribed and sworn to the foregoing declaration; that we believe him to be seventy three years of age and that he has always been reputed and believed in the neighborhood where he resided to have been a soldier in the Revolution and we concur in this opinion.

Sworn and subscribed the day aforesaid.

(Signed) HARTWELL SPAIN.

(Signed) J. FORNEY.

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And the said Court do hereby declare their opinion after the investigation of the matter and after putting the interrogatories prescribed by the War Department that the above named affiant was a Revolutionary soldier and served as he states. And the Court further certifies that it appears that Hartwell Spain who signed the preceding certificate is a clergyman, resident in the County of Lincoln, and that Jacob Forney, who has also signed, is a resident of said county and State, is a creditable person and his statement is entitled to credit.

I Vardrey McBee, Clerk of the Court do hereby certify that the foregoing contains the original proceedings of the said Court in the matter of the application of General Joseph Graham for a pension.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal of office this the 30th October 1832.

(Seal)

(Signed) VARDREY MCBEE,

*Clerk.*



No. 6937.  
Rev. War.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
BUREAU OF PENSIONS,

Washington, D. C., January 6, 1902.

Sir,—In reply to your request for a statement of the military history of Joseph Graham, a soldier of the Revolutionary War, you will find below the desired information as contained in his application for pension on file in this Bureau:

Dates of Enlistment or Appointment.	Length of Service.	Rank.	Officers under Whom Service was Rendered.		State.
			Captain.	Colonel.	
May 1778	3 months	Sergeant	Gooden	Archibald Lytle	N. C.
Nov 5, 1778	3 "	"	Do.	Do	N. C.
Feb. 1779	6 "	Q. M. Serg't		Malmady	N. C.
Jan. 1780	6 "	Adjutant		Robt. Irwin	N. C.
Dec. 1780	3 mos. 5 days	Capt. Cav'y		Jos. Dickson	N. C.
Aug. 30, 1781	1 mo. 17 days	"		Robt. Smith	N. C.
1781	1 mo. 24 days	Major		Do	N. C.
	24 mos. 16 d'ys	"			

Battles engaged in—Charlotte and many skirmishes.

Residence of soldier at enlistment—Mecklenburg County, N. C.

Date of application for pension—October 30, 1832.

Residence at date of application—Lincoln County, N. C.

Age at date of application—Born October 13, 1759, Chester County, Pa.

Remarks: His claim was allowed. He stated that he received nine wounds at the battle of Charlotte and was in hospital two months.

Very respectfully,

H. CLAY EVANS,  
Commissioner.

To Mr. W. A. Graham, Machpelah, N. C.

NOTE.—Enlisted in May when 18 years of age.

ENGAGEMENT AT CHARLOTTE AND CROSS ROADS,  
SEPTEMBER 26, 1780.

On Lord Cornwallis' approach to Charlotte, Graham was ordered to report to Col. W. R. Davie and take command of such Mecklenburg men as should assemble there. Fifty-six assembled, who were organized into

a company of cavalry, and he was appointed captain. His account of the equipment of his men reads much like the experience of some of his descendants as Confederate soldiers. He was sent with his company to watch the enemy, who were encamped ten miles from Charlotte, between McAlpin and Sugar Creeks, on the Camden road. He retired as they advanced, annoying them when opportunity was presented. His orders were when the village was reached not to fire but to draw the enemy up to the infantry at the court-house. The commanding officer of the British advance, Major Hanger, rode conspicuously at the head of his troops. When Graham's company arrived about where the railroad now crosses South Tryon street, one of his men (his brother-in-law, Thomas Barnett) remarked to a comrade, "I believe that is Cornwallis; I am going to get him." He dismounted and was aiming his rifle, when Captain Graham rode up and told him he had given him orders not to fire, and if he did not remount his horse he would cut him down in his tracks. Barnett obeyed the command.

Thirty years after this, when two of Graham's sons visited their Uncle Barnett's family, he related the circumstance to them, and seemed as angry as though it had occurred that afternoon.

The disposition of the troops in the village for battle was about as follows:

Major Dickson's command was placed behind the McCombs' House, near where the Buford Hotel now stands. The infantry was formed in three lines across North Tryon street, the first line twenty steps from the court-house, the other lines each fifty yards in rear, with

orders to advance to the court-house, fire and retire by flank. Eighty yards distant on East and West Trade streets were two troops of cavalry, each concealed by a building. Captain Graham, with his and Captain Brandon's company from Rowan County, were placed as reserve where Tryon Street Methodist Church now stands (1902).

As the British advanced Major Dickson fired on them, but they advanced rapidly; the first line at the court-house moved up and fired. As they retired, the enemy thought they were retreating, and rushed for the court-house; the cavalry companies on Trade street, as they reached the "Square," fired upon them. This they could do without harming each other, as one was down the hill about opposite the Belmont, while the other was about Andrews' furniture store. The British retired in haste to their infantry. The infantry, by movements to the right and left through the lots, gained the flanks of the Americans and opened fire, which compelled them to retreat "after a short, spirited resistance"; the reserve held their position until they had fired two rounds. They moved off in order through the woods (Church street), with Major Hanger's troops within one hundred and fifty yards. Arriving at the Muddy Branch they made a stand and faced the enemy at the gum tree near where the Seaboard Air Line station is now located. Here Captain Graham narrowly escaped death by the bursting of the gun of one of the men at his side. The reserves, being pressed by the enemy, scattered and rallied again at Kennedy's Creek, two miles distant. The enemy advancing, the troops broke, but rallied again near the Cross Roads, where they

formed and engaged the infantry in a hot skirmish. Some of the men dismounted and used the trees for defense. The British cavalry divided and moved so as to gain both the right flank and rear of the Americans, charged and dispersed them. In the fight Lieut. George Locke and two privates were killed. Colonel Lindsey of Georgia, who was acting as a volunteer, Captain Graham and ten others were wounded.

As Captain Graham was engaged in a hand-to-hand fight, his horse backed under a limb of a tree which knocked him off. He received three bullets in the thigh, one saber thrust in the side, one cut on the back of the neck and four upon the forehead. And from one of these some of his brains exuded.\* The cut on the back of the neck must have been given as he fell or fought on foot. It cut a heavy silver buckle which he wore on his stock entirely in two; but for the buckle it would have severed his head from his body or cut the arteries so that he would have bled to death. Such a blow, those who have had experience in saber fighting know, could not be dealt by one mounted man upon another. Later, upon retiring, as they passed him, one of the British aimed his pistol at him with intent to shoot. Major Hanger said, "Put up your pistol; save your ammunition; he has enough." Thus was his life preserved. After the enemy retired, the wounded patriot, to slake his thirst and bathe his wounds, crawled to a branch near Mrs. — Smart's spring. About sunset her daughter, Mrs. Susan Alexander, coming to the spring for a bucket of water, was hailed by him. She returned

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\*Some years afterwards an old lady acquaintance asked him if he thought he had as much sense as before losing a portion of his brains. He replied that he had not perceived any difference.

to the house and brought her mother. They aided him in getting to the house, dressed his wounds, and put him to bed and hung hanks of hackled flax around the bedstead to conceal him from the view of anyone who might come into the house. Mrs. Alexander says that when found his clothes were dyed with his blood. He lay so quietly during the night that they thought he was dead, and once or twice examined to see.

Next day Robert Ramsey, of the Rowan troops, going to the house to see him, and finding half the buckle on his stock, went to the place of "rencontre," and found the other half on the ground. The two pieces were joined together by———, a smith of those times. The stock was worn in place of a cravat, and this style was retained by gentlemen of the "old school" until the Confederate War. The buckle on the back was small; in front there was a bow sewed to the stock. In Revolutionary times the buckle on the military stocks was about one and a half or two inches in size. That day a party of the British, among whom was an officer's wife, coming to the house for milk, and ascertaining that a wounded soldier was there, the lady proposed to return to camp and send a surgeon to dress his wounds. On their departure, Robert Ramsey and others, fearing his capture, mounted him on his horse, which his comrades had caught the day before, carried him to his mother's residence (some four miles), procured a wagon and conveyed him to Guilford (now Davie) County, where he remained until he recovered. Mrs. Alexander offered to ride behind him and hold him on his horse from Mrs. Smart's to his mother's, but it was thought unnecessary.

He returned to his command in January, and when Lord Cornwallis again advanced into North Carolina, met him at Cowan's Ford and followed him to Guilford Court-house. He thought the fight at Charlotte was a mistake, as defeat of the Americans was certain under any circumstances. He thought that much more could have been accomplished by allowing the enemy to encamp at Charlotte and then attacking any parties which might be sent out for foraging and other purposes.

A pension was granted Mrs. Alexander in 1851 for her services on this occasion. It is Widow's Revolutionary Pension, No. 20568. The following is the record:

"Widow of John Alexander, of Captain Ballard's company, nine months North Carolina Troops, 1779; also in service in N. C. Militia.

"James Alexander, father of John, was also in service.

"Susan Alexander is said to have saved the life of Joseph Graham, N. C. Partisan Rangers. The said Joseph Graham was severely wounded at Charlotte, October (September) 26th, 1780. He was found by Susan Alexander, who took him to her house, washed and dressed his wounds and cared for him until he recovered."

General Graham's children always called her "Aunt Susie."

A BRITISH ACCOUNT OF THE OCCUPATION OF  
CHARLOTTE.

Major Stedman, Commissary to Lord Cornwallis' forces, says, in American War, Vol. II, page 216:

“Charlotte was taken possession of after a slight resistance from the militia, towards the close of September. At this period Major Hanger commanded, Colonel Tarleton being ill. In the center of Charlotte, intersecting the two principal streets, stood a large brick building, the upper part being the court-house and the under part the market house. Behind the shambles a few Americans on horse-back placed themselves. The legion was ordered to drive them off, but upon receiving a fire from behind the stalls, this corps fell back. Lord Cornwallis rode up in person and made use of these words: ‘Legion, remember you have everything to lose, but nothing to gain,’ alluding, it is supposed, to the former reputation of the corps. Webster’s brigade moved on and drove the Americans from behind the court-house. The legion then pursued them, but the whole British army was actually kept at bay for some minutes by a few mounted Americans not exceeding twenty in number.”

JO. GRAHAM AND ANDY JACKSON—MRS. JOHN ALEXANDER’S  
ANECDOTES.

In 1845, Dr. John H. Gibbon, Superintendent of the United States Mint at Charlotte, in his practice as a physician, made the acquaintance of Mrs. Susie Alexander, who resided near “cross-roads,” some four miles from Charlotte, on the Salisbury road, near where Maj. Joseph Graham was wounded and left on the field for dead by Tarleton’s men, September 26, 1780. Mrs. Alexander gave Dr. Gibbon an account of her finding Major Graham, and of her and her mother’s (Mrs. Smart) attention to him; also of the stay of General Jackson and

his mother at her father's near this time. Dr. Gibbon sent the narrative to *The Daily Union*, the leading Democratic paper of the country, which published it July 11, 1845. He also requested *The National Intelligencer*, the leading Whig paper, to copy. Both papers were published in Washington, D. C.

*The Intelligencer* declined to do so, pronounced the stories "fabulous," and made comments as given below in its issue of August 1.

Dr. Gibbon wrote again, and his letter and *The Intelligencer's* comments were published in its issue of the 29th.

*The National Intelligencer* was edited with an ability never surpassed in journalism in the United States, and had the confidence and respect of its patrons to an extent that has never been equalled. I would almost as soon have thought of mutilating the family Bible as tearing *The National Intelligencer*. When we find a paper of this character exhibiting such gross and inexcusable ignorance concerning North Carolina Revolutionary history, we can not be surprised at the yelping of "Tray, Blanche and Sweetheart" recorded in some of the other journals of the country.

I have been unable to find *The Union* of July 11, 1845, and can not give verbatim Mrs. Alexander's narrative.

#### ANDREW JACKSON'S VISIT.

*The Intelligencer* denied this because it is contrary to what history relates Jackson to have said. What evidence is there to substantiate Mrs. Alexander?

Waxhaw is on the road leading from Charlotte to Camden. About the 1st of August, Cornwallis left



Charleston and arrived at Camden a week or ten days afterward. Charlotte was directly on the route that it was known he had determined to travel. Waxhaw was on the route to Charlotte. Is it not plausible that when Mrs. Jackson heard of the approach of the British she began her journey and arrived at the Alexander's at the time stated? Tarleton, in May previous, had visited the Waxhaw section, the people knew of the inhumanity of the British, and those intending to leave would do so upon learning a second visit was contemplated. Examination of the map of Mecklenburg County, Part II, will show the roads likely to be travelled. Persons going from Waxhaw to Salisbury would not pass through Charlotte, but, after passing Sugar Creek, take a right-hand fork, and leaving Charlotte four miles to the left, enter the Charlotte-Salisbury road at "Cross-Roads" near the Alexander Residence. Generals Sumner and Davidson took this route on September 25, and left Davie to protect Charlotte. If Mrs. Jackson went home, as Mrs. Alexander testifies, when Cornwallis reached Charlotte, this road would avoid his troops and place her in his rear at Waxhaw. The same road in an opposite direction would have taken her via Salisbury to Guilford County, where Kendall, in his life of Jackson, says they went.

I append the articles of *The Intelligencer*, also a reply by ex-Governor Graham, which I find in manuscript, but do not know that it was ever published.

#### REVOLUTIONARY LEGENDS.

[National Intelligencer, August 1, 1845.]

An anonymous "Subscriber" enclosed to us a little while back some columns communicated to *The Union* (the government paper)

as authentic memorials of the Revolution in North Carolina. Were this series of stories striking, we would still be scrupulous of publishing them as historical. Our friend has, we think, overrated both their interest and their truth.

They avow themselves to be taken from the oral narrations of an ancient midwife, whom the author meets in his professional labors as a physician. The personal habits of this ancient dame and traits of her discourse—her medical theories—her aversion to Indians—her fondness for her pigs, etc., make up a large part of these “Sketches of the Revolutionary War in North Carolina.” With these—signally uninteresting—are mixed some adventures of one Jo Graham, who appears to have escaped the pursuit of Tarleton’s dragoons, when they chased Colonel Davie’s men from Charlotte (N. C.) toward Salisbury, on the 26th of September, 1780.

Now, the historical value of “Aunt Susie’s” stories is not entirely positive, inasmuch as we neither know the old lady’s source of information nor her name, nor that of him who holds the pen for her, nor his accuracy in regard to what (true or not) she told him. By all the rules of historical criticism, therefore, all that, out of our zeal for the truth and to gratify our subscriber, we could do, was to compare her narrative with others of supposed truth, and thus ascertain its probability. Its truth there was no ascertaining; but, at least, we thought we might be able to satisfy ourselves of the possibility, though not the reality of the facts. So we considered, consulted and remembered.

Well, the “Sketches” relate, besides the mishaps of Jo Graham (as mentioned) and the succor given him in his wounded state by Aunt Susie and her mother, the arrival and “residence” at their farm house of some other persons a little more famous. Now, history, we saw, afforded no means of clearing up the facts concerning Jo Graham, inasmuch as the negligent Muse, Clio, has never given herself the slightest thought of rescuing the deeds, and wresting the “red coat and white small clothes” of the puissant Jo from unmerited oblivion. They say—at least Horace says—that she was quite in the habit of treating great men so, before Agamemnon’s day.

*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona  
Multi; sed omnes illacrymabiles  
Urgentur, ignotique longa  
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.*

As to Jo Graham, therefore, we had no hope of making the muse and midwife correct and check each other's fables. But when the grandame's tale ventured out of the unknown into the known, we felt that it would need no Niebuhr to catch her tripping.

Well, these more historical personages are such as—her stories relating to the time of Gates' defeat at Camden, and she herself being then a dweller some five miles from Charlotte toward Salisbury, near the road from the former to the latter town—were to be expected from a dame living not far from General Jackson's birth-place, the Waxhaws. The General, then, is introduced, apropos of a dish of boiled rice and milk, which the doctor recommends to Aunt Susie:

"Upon one occasion, when she was indisposed, I recommended the use of rice boiled in milk as a diet well adapted to her age and complaint. At the same time mentioned an anecdote I had heard—that, when General Jackson was in Philadelphia, he sat down with a large company to a sumptuous dinner provided for him, and occasioned some surprise and delay by unexpectedly asking for boiled rice and milk."

From this observation I derived the following account of

#### THE FUGITIVES FROM THE WAXHAW.

"Ande Jackson!" cried the old lady; "Oh! I mind Ande Jackson well; and I have no doubt he would mind me, too.

"He and his mother—Aunt Betty, we called her (her name was Elizabeth)—her sister and brother-in-law (John McKamie), and a black girl, named Charlotte, with several horses, fled before the British, from the Waxhaws, and came to reside at my father's house. They told us they just come in to stay under our roof; and we just told them to stay. My husband was in arms; and we all four gathered at my father's for convenience. Ande Jackson and his mother came up from Waxhaws about six weeks before the British came to Charlotte. The old woman lamented very much, every now and then, about things being left in such desolation at home. She acknowledged she did think of the leeks and onions of Egypt.

"She was a fresh-looking, fair-haired, very conversive, old Irish lady, at dreadful enmity with the Indians. I thought her eldest son was killed by them. They did lament about their eldest son and brother. They took great spells of mourning about him. Ande was her youngest child. He was a tall young fellow, about 11 or 12

years of age. He was a lank, leaning-forward fellow, tall of his age, and a poor, gripy-looking fellow, but with a large forehead and big eyes. He never was pretty, but there was something very agreeable about him. I thought him a mighty good boy—very cheerful, observing and trying to improve.

“Ande was dressed in homespun, like we all were. They did go in coarse fare during the Revolution; but, indeed, one man then was worth two men now, generally speaking.

“They were healthful, unlearned men; but there are some much more ignorant now.

“It would have broken my heart if I had not known how to read. It is terrible loss not to know how to read. It is a comfort to me this day, as it was then.

“Ande was an independent boy in his manner and had good sense. I considered he would make a fine man then.

“But dear me! I have heard stories enough of Ande Jackson to fill a book; but I never liked to believe them, for he was a good boy, and very fond of his mother.

“His mother could not be idle. She could spin flax beautiful. We had no cotton then. She was the busiest that could be, as if she was working for wages; but there was no price or charge, either upon work or victuals, in those days.

“Every one did whatever they could turn their hand to. She spun us heddle-yarn for weaving cloth and the best and finest I ever saw.

“They were very anxious about home—I mean she was. He never fretted—was quite happy, like another boy. His mother moaned about home, as any other old body would; but, whiles, she would be very cheerful.

“It was a time of great trials.

“She did think a dreadful deal of that son, Ande, who was her all.

“Ande and I tended the farm. His mother allowed him to work at every thing he would, and he was very willing.

“We had a large new field, just cleared, planted in corn and pumpkins. Ande and I had the greatest time to keep up the fences to keep the hogs out.

“For the horsemen—the flying infantry, as they were called—were always riding about, and would throw down the fences, without ever stopping to put them up again.

“They would never go round a rod—being always in a hurry.

“Ande would cut up pumpkins and feed that cow; and he liked

to look at her eating. We fed her beautifully and she gave plenty of milk.

"The Jacksons had rode upon horses, that were kept in a back pasture well out of sight.

"Ande made bows and arrows, and shot birds about. There were many birds about in those days—snipes, partridges and wild turkeys. He had a great idea of some military business.

"I like to see a big forehead and large eyes when I want to see a martial man.

"Ande could not well be idle. He used to carry my baby about and nurse it bravely. He was very willing to do so.

"It was in a peach and watermelon time they were here. We got a good deal of support out of the corn field. We were well off. We were not very nice. Our wants were not so many, and were the easiest supplied.

"We had Continental and Convention money plenty, but it was very light. Some of the big folks issued their own paper for small sums, for change, payable in one year; but a great deal of it never came back to be paid. People were not anxious about money. Money was a small matter in those days. Nothing attracted their attention but liberty. That was their whole object.

"My biggest brothers had gone to the war. My husband was in the army, and I had my first baby in my arms. My mother was heavy-footed at the time—far gone with her last infant; but she could take care of my child.

"Ande and I spread flax, watered and gathered it. We had no cotton at all. He and I packed away the flax in the loft.

"The people hid all their boys, for fear the British would take them off. The men were all gone away to the army, and even the women into remote settlements, to be out of the way of the British—such a character had come from the lower country of their acts.

"I had no idea of going away. I never was afraid, thank God! My mother was too heavy-footed to go, and I had to stay with her.

"But the British were often sore belied in my notion. It was the Tories did the most mischief.

"The Hessians were exactly heathens! The British told them they must fight to the death, for, if the Americans took them prisoners they would eat them.

"But it must be said to the credit of the Americans, they never abused a prisoner yet—unless it was now and then to tar and

feather a Tory. This neither broke their bones nor scalded their heads, but kept them busy getting it off them, and I thought no harm of that at all.

"The Jacksons got round and went home behind the British, as they came to Charlotte."

A few facts and dates and all this vanishes into a very absurd romance.

The first battle of Camden (Gates) happened on the 16th of August, 1780. Cornwallis did not advance to Waxhaw until the 8th of September—only a little more than two (instead of the narrator's six) weeks before he entered Charlotte (26). This advance alone drove Mrs. Jackson from her home. Besides, her son's biographers tell us she took to flight on the 8th. Moreover, since she only passed through Charlotte (as they also aver) on the 25th it is clear that she advanced that far only fast enough to keep out of reach of the enemy, and under protection of Colonel Davie. He attempted to make some stand at Charlotte on the 26th, but was driven back and his troops dispersed. It is clear that it was for this reason that she then fled further and faster into Guilford County; and as all the lives say that she went thither to the house of a Mrs. McCulloch when she left Charlotte, "Aunt Susie" must, like Mr. Pickwick, make out an alibi or her case is a non-suit.

This is not all: Aunt Susie says the mother, her sister's husband and Andrew, the only son, came to "stay" at her house; and that mother and son spoke of the other son as lately killed—she thought by the Indians. Now, the eldest brother, Hugh, fell at the battle of Stono, 20th June, 1779. Robert (the second) and Andrew were both companions of this her flight of the 25th September. Witness that the life of Jackson says:

"On 25th September Lord Cornwallis, having been joined by Tarleton's forces (from the west side of the Catawba) resumed his march (from Waxhaws) for Charlotte." And immediately after:

"On the morning of this day (the same 25th) Mrs. Jackson, with her two sons, passed through Charlotte on her way to a Mrs. McCulloch, in Guilford county."

Finally, Aunt Susie says the Jacksons, as the enemy came to Charlotte, "got round behind them and went home." A bold step; but why then had they been so prompt to leave the Waxhaw settlement a month before Cornwallis came near them? Was it only to get back into much greater danger?

But now, what do all the historiographers, except Aunt Susie, say? Mr. Kendall, for instance? At his next mention of Mrs. Jackson, after the relation of her flight into Guilford (25th September), he says: "Mrs. Jackson, with her two sons and the other Waxhaw settlers, remained in their exile only until Lord Cornwallis had crossed the Yadkin early in February. They then returned home, as well to look after their property as to keep alive the fire of patriotism in their own State. Nothing could exhibit more holdness than the return of these people at such a time."

To conclude, then, we will not attempt to shake the authenticity of Aunt Susie's facts about the General's having shot sparrows at a great rate, or nursed her baby for her, or fed that little broken-backed cow with pumpkins. We even stand ready to admit that he was in the habit of looking very amicably at little broken-back while munching her pumpkins repast. But, these, we fear, are the most historical parts of her relations, and all the rest must pass for romance, or poetry, or mythology.

DR. J. H. GIBBON'S LETTER.

[National Intelligencer, August 29, 1845.]

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Our displeased, but still courteous opponent (whom we are sorry to have wounded for such now that he frankly avows himself) ought certainly not to be surprised if, under the travesty of Jo Graham, we could not, without any other indications of his identity, recognize the father of the present highly-respected Governor of North Carolina. The figure he makes in the narrative was a little too strange to beget in us any suspicion who was meant. We proceed, however, to copy from *The Union* his reply to our strictures.

"AUNT SUSIE."

"I read in *The National Intelligencer*, of the 2nd August, a criticism upon two "Sketches of the Revolutionary War in North Carolina," originally communicated in *The Union* of 11th July, a copy of which I enclosed anonymously to the editors of *The Intelligencer*, to which I am a 'subscriber.'

\* \* \* \* \*

"In the neighborhood in which I live, the persons referred to are very well known, and the narrative loses its anonymous character. Indeed, we are much better acquainted with the names of Aude Jackson, Jo Graham and Susie Alexander than with those of Clio, Horace and Agamemnon.

"My surprise was certainly greater to see four lines of Latin verse connected with the criticism upon these "revolutionary legions" in *The Intelligencer*, than at any discrepancy in the dates of an aged woman on the verge of the grave.

"Notwithstanding the obviously bilious character of the criticism, there are some apparent objections, which I have referred to Mrs. Alexander, to whom I read the observations in *The Intelligencer*. She said to me: "I had an excellent memory in my youth, but it may be somewhat jarred now. Anything that happened then is of more consequence to me than anything that happens now. I am sure that what I was told was put down as I heard it; and all that I stated were limits of the truth.

"I don't know how you recollect it all, but what I read in print in *The Union* was exactly the truth. The only thing I would wish to correct was, with respect to Ande's age. As far as I could judge, when he was at our house, I think he was over thirteen.

"Mrs. Jackson and her son, Andrew, came to our house in the month of August, and I am sure were there nigh to six weeks. No brother came with Ande to our home. Nor do I recollect hearing them mention any other brother than the one that was killed. I only recollect about the death of that one brother, and I had it as a perfect belief, that he was killed by the Indians—for they often mourned him, and they were inveterate haters of the Indians, on account of their barbarities—both he and his mother.

"It exactly affronts me to hear anything against him. He had fallings, like the best of men we have an account of, but he had his virtues, certainly.

"He was a preserver—or in the hands of a preserver—upon the frontier against the Indians; and his very soul was grieved when he could not get men to help him. Oh! we all suffered by those horrid Indians; and the remembrance of it has not gone out of me yet.

"I am sure the Jacksons were near to six weeks at our house. Depend upon it, they came in August, for the corn was in the roasting ears; and we had only the one crop in the big field; and in September we were taking in fodder in those times, for the corn was getting hard then. On the 25th and 26th of September of that year there came awful frosts, and every bit of new land was ruined. We had taken some fodder before that, and Ande helped to tie it. What was left was ruined—as white as a sheet and tasteless. It



was a great cause of lamentation for it was adding more to our distress.

"It was on the 24th or 25th of September that the Jacksons left these logs (pointing to her house) a day or two before Graham was wounded.

\* \* \* \* \*

"The British hireling troops—Hessians, Germans, Norwaymen, and Welch—had done some rude mischief, abusing the young women, so that there was great fear of falling into their brutish hands.

"The Tories, too, were bold, forward and troublesome in expectation, when they heard the British were coming up from Charleston, and the Jacksons were hurried off in consequence of their taking boys and holding them to wait on them like. So that Mrs. Jackson was induced to come away on account of her son—her all, as she often called him. That's the story they told us! The time the British were occupied in marching from Charleston to Camden was quite sufficient to alarm the whole of the upper country. People were alarmed and making preparations to scratch out of the way before the battle of Camden; but much more so afterwards. There was a desperate talk about the battle of Camden while the Jacksons were with us. The riders who carried the news were the whole lookout of the country, and reports came rapidly by us.

"There were watermelons and peaches when the Jacksons came, but they gave out before they left us. Watermelons, in new land, come forward in July generally, and continue through August. August was the main time for our peaches. They are an early kind called Coneojig peaches from the neighborhood of that stream in Pennsylvania. About the 4th or 5th of August we had plenty, and the Jacksons had peaches, for, she said, 'she feared she would never eat peaches at home again.' But the peaches were finished while the Jacksons were here. They used of them, I mind. In the beginning of September we had few except late ones.

"When the Jacksons came roasting ears were in prime case, and we did make them fly, too! We did not know whether we should enjoy that corn long, and we were not saving of it, for when Cornwallis came it was a very dark day about to open!

"Ande and I often selected the pumpkins and beans, which were the only sauce we had with our meat. Flour was scarce, but we were all well people then; we did not want delicacies.

"Every now and then some one would call to stay a night at our

house; for it was a great thoroughfare between two big roads, and people were flying in all directions from the enemy. Almost all the roads were only cow paths then, except to mill and meeting.

"I recollect the morning the Jacksons started, for they were very anxious and desired to get home with all intensesness, and I believed well they went home, for she feared everything they had would be destroyed. But I think they had hid many of their things in the woods, as many hodies did.

"I never heard about them much after they left us, except that Ande was going to school in Charlotte; for every one was in such wonderful confusion they had enough of their own affairs to attend to.

"If they staid away so long as it is said, it was not what they intended to do when they left us. But I will not be sure they got back home. From everything I can remember they had determined to go home, but they may have found it would not do. They might have altered their intention after they left us, and it may be she went to Guilford instead of home, as they might soon change their notion in such times. They might have taken the turn along with other company they met with going to Guilford, if they considered it unsafe to go home. A power of people went to Guilford, where our army was to be stationed and where the whole country crowded to.

"In all their company the Jacksons had five horses. Ande and his mother rode each their own horse, with packs of clothing and food with them. About money, I don't know how they were off; for, indeed, there was very little among us.

"They all carried packs, and they took a course from our house to lead them home; but it would also lead them toward Guilford, if they went there. If Ande was in the fight with Davie, he got in after he left our house, which was only a day or two before the British reached Charlotte.

"I do wish I had committed better to my memory about matters. If it could have been started earlier they might have had more to compare by. But I can stand over anything I say. But I can't pretend to be certain of what I can not be certain of. There is probably not a living soul but myself that can ratify it exactly. It is no mystery to me—my recollection of the facts. As far as I go I went for the truth. But the confusion and distress was so great at the time it was very difficult to know how things were mixed up."

It is the opinion of Aunt Susie, then, that Mrs. Jackson fled from the Waxhaws early in the month of August, and before the battle of Camden, in consequence of the reckless behavior of the Tories in her neighborhood, excited by the assurance of the approach of the British troops from Charleston towards the upper country; that, instead of passing through Charlotte on the 25th of September, Mrs. Jackson, on that day, or the day before, left the vicinity, where she had found refuge at James Alexander's, after her first flight, with the intention to return home by McKamie on Rocky River—the same route she had formerly passed over; that, most probably, prevented by reports of the condition of the country at the Waxhaws, over which the British had passed, they had kept the main road northeasterly, and reached a second shelter in Guilford, where she remained till the middle of winter.

In the confusion and constant incidents of travel, the first stopping place had been overlooked; but the events which are narrated in the recollections of Aunt Susie, have been frequently related by her, and are undoubtedly entitled to respect.

Mrs. Alexander has herein described persons and dates, the crops and the season, as the best natural evidence to impress the accuracy of her recollections and opinions upon those who are prepared to understand the testimony she offers.

The desultory style of her narrative was caused by an occasional question interrupting her conversation. I know no one whose evidence would be more generally received among her neighbors as correct and true than that of Mrs. Susanna Alexander.

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With regard to the account Mrs. Alexander gives of "One Jo. Graham" (as the father of the present Governor of North Carolina is characterized in *The Intelligencer*) she says:

"It may be a romance, but it is a romantic truth."

"There never was a truer story—that I can vindicate, for it happened into my own hand, and I can tell it better than heresay!"

I trust to the ordinary courtesy of the editors of *The National Intelligencer* to have Mrs. Alexander's explanation inserted in that paper.

J. H. GIBBON,

U. S. Branch Mint, Charlotte, N. C.

August 9, 1845.

## GOVERNOR GRAHAM'S LETTER TO THE UNION.

## THE INTELLIGENCER AND REVOLUTIONARY LEGENDS.

To the Editor of the Union:

The *National Intelligencer* of August 1st, under the head of "Revolutionary Legends" contains an editorial critique upon an article in *The Union* of July 11th, entitled "Sketches of the Revolutionary War in North Carolina," which I must request a brief space in your paper to notice. The individual now addressing you had no agency in the preparation of these sketches nor any knowledge that such publication was intended or had been made until within a day or two of the appearance of *The Intelligencer's* remarks upon it. It may be proper further to add that although a subscriber and constant reader of *The National Intelligencer* he is not that subscriber who desired a publication of these sketches in its columns, nor does he take any exception to its declaration that they are devoid of interest. But feeling a natural concern in the fame of the person who is the principal subject of the first of these sketches, and with whose services and suffering at the darkest period of the war in the South, *The Intelligencer* is pleased to trifle very much to the amusement of at least the editors, he is constrained to interpose for the vindication of his memory against such causeless injustice. These sketches purport to be narratives derived from a matron eighty-five years of age now living in the vicinity of Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, who is denominated by the writer "Aunt Susie" and whose family name is Alexander. And it may be remembered by your readers that one of them refers to the refuge (as it is alleged), of General Jackson in his boyhood at the house of this old lady's father about the time of the British invasion in North Carolina about 1780; and the other to the succor and relief afforded by her and her mother to Joseph Graham, an officer who had fought under General Davie in the defense of Charlotte; who had been hadly wounded on the retreat and left for dead by the enemy; who is described in the remarks prefixed to the sketches as the father of the present Governor of the State, and to whom every one in the least familiar with the traditions in the section of country where these events happened recognizes the late General Joseph Graham, then of Mecklenburg, but for the last forty years preceding his death in 1836 an inhabitant of the adjoining county of Lincoln. *The Intelligencer* pronounces these stories as entirely fabulous as far as they concern Jackson because contradicted by history; and if not impos-

sible as they relate to Graham, altogether incapable of having their truth ascertained since history had not deigned to mention him at all. The editors then proceed in a vein of very great merriment to consign him to oblivion loaded with such a weight of ridicule as practiced pens are enabled to educe from the familiar contraction of his name in which the old matron indulges herself, her description of his dress, and his supposed puissance in encountering the enemy, and being classics they conclude the strain with a derisive application of the hackneyed verse of Horace:

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona Multi, etc.,

Perhaps it may turn out that the brave men who lived before Agamemnon had this advantage over their successors in 1780-81 that if they have been doomed to sleep unknown in the long night of ages for want of the sacer vates (the truthful author), to embalm their deeds, they have been at least exempted from the persecutions of the buffoons of literature; who beyond the narrow circle in which they chose to minister as the dispensers of fame will not suffer a violet to spring from the grave of a hero without plucking it up and casting it away.

All this is done as the critique declares according to the most approved "rules of historical criticism, with great zeal for truth" and after a professed examination of the history of that period. Indeed it was to have been presumed in common charity that such a course of derision and insult would hardly have been indulged by those professing to give information to the public without having had recourse to the best sources of intelligence and finding them to justify them. "Its truth (say the editors), there was no ascertaining but at least we thought we might be able to satisfy ourselves of the possibility though not the reality of the facts; so we considered. But could find no trace of such character in history consulted and remembered."

Now after all this those who have read the article of *The Intelligencer* will readily agree that if any such person as "Jo. Graham" did in fact exist he was never in greater danger of annihilation from the sabers of Tarleton's dragoons than is his memory from the sneers of these critics of *The National Intelligencer*. How much they "considered and remembered" there is no "ascertaining." Nor is it very apparent how either process would have helped them to facts which it is very evident were never within their knowledge;

though with their pretensions on the subject they should have been. But they also "consulted." With whom? Certainly with no one having the slightest acquaintance with the traditions of the Revolution in western North Carolina. The gallant defense of Charlotte by Davie with but little more than two hundred men against the approach of the whole British army, his driving back the column of horse in the three several charges which they made and keeping them at bay until Cornwallis advanced in person to his cavalry, reproached them with cowardice and by re-enforcements of superior numbers compelled our troops at last to recede from the unequal contest, are remembered by the people of that region with a pride bordering on enthusiasm. And the part borne by Graham in that action at the head of the volunteers in Mecklenburg; his command of the reserve on the retreat, his being wounded and left for dead about four miles from the village on the Salisbury road, are as familiarly known to the people of the western section of the State as the defeat of Ferguson at King's Mountain, of the fall of Davidson at the passage of the Catawba. It may be safely said that it is more generally known. The events occurred in his own home in defense of that village in which five years before while quite a youth he had witnessed the Declaration of Independence by the people of Mecklenburg, in a county which he afterwards represented in the Legislature of the State and in both of the conventions which deliberated on the adoption of the Federal Constitution by North Carolina; in a region of country where he ever after resided and wore the scars of the wounds received then, and whose military forces he commanded in the capacity of brigadier general in 1814 when they confederated with General Jackson in the subjugation of the Creek Indians. It is to be regretted for the sake of peace to his ashes that some position of his public services had not brought him to the notice of the editors of *The Intelligencer*.

It may be asking too much of those who discoursed so much of muses and poets to consult muster rolls and public records for the evidences of reality of one whom they are determined to consider as mere *nom de guerre*. But what historian have they "consulted" who furnishes a decent excuse for the mockery with which they have treated his memory? Is there any who professes to give details of the action at Charlotte in which the name of Graham is not mentioned? "Lee's Memoirs of the War in the South," written by an officer of distinction who joined the Southern service soon after the affair at Charlotte and who became well acquainted with the

officers engaged in it says that on the approach of Cornwallis towards Charlotte General Sumner, who had been encamped at Providence, "retired on the nearest road to Salisbury, leaving Col. Davie, strengthened by a few volunteers under Major Graham, to observe the movements of the enemy. \* \* \* Davie, relying on the firmness of the troops, determined to give them (the British) an earnest of the spirit of the country into which they had entered. \* \* \* His infantry also, dismounted with Graham's volunteers were advanced 80 yards in front on each side of the street covered with enclosures of the village. \* \* \* Lieutenant Locke and five privates were killed and Major Graham and twelve men wounded."

The account is too long to be here copied at length, but will repay perusal by those feeling any interest in the subject. It will show that the "midwife," though professing no familiarity with the muse, is far better sustained by her than *The National Intelligencer* which affects to speak in her name. Her mistake as to the rank held by Graham at that time goes but to corroborate the general evidence of one who had known him in every grade from a sergeant to the head of a battalion. Your correspondent never saw Mrs. Alexander and knows nothing of her habits of life which are detailed with some minuteness in connection with these sketches of the Revolution, though from the earliest recollection he has heard of her kind ministrings to the wounded officer on the 26th of September, 1780, and has been taught to cherish for her an hereditary gratitude and affection. He well remembers that in September, 1836, but a month before the death of Gen. Graham on the anniversary of the invasion of Charlotte, it was adverted to in conversation with him and he acknowledged the hospitality and assistance received at the hands of these benevolent females in terms not materially variant from that portion of the narrative of the "Sketches."

I have no information respecting the other subjects of the sketches, but am very far from concurring with the opinion of *The Intelligencer* that the truth of that is impossible. Time is very often not material in determining the actual occurrence of facts. The Waxhaws are not more than a day's journey and it would have been no difficult undertaking at any period of alarm for Mrs. Jackson to have fled with her family to the house of Mr. Alexander as these sketches affirm. Besides *The Intelligencer* seems to be ignorant of the fact that Lord Cornwallis remained at Charlotte but fifteen or twenty days. When hearing of the defeat of Ferguson he decamped in the night, retreated to Camden (Winnsboro), and did

not return to North Carolina until December following; so that there could have been no necessity for Mrs. Jackson's fleeing "further and faster" into Guilford at that time. And it is no very violent conjecture to suppose that she may have lingered a few weeks in Mecklenburg before going to Guilford. I go not however into that. I have reluctantly asked the indulgence of your columns to expose a great injustice to one whose character is esteemed a richer legacy than any inheritance he has left to his children; that done my end is accomplished. G.

August 15 1845.

#### CHARLOTTE, THE HORNET'S NEST—ORIGIN OF THE NAME.

Tradition says that when Cornwallis retreated from Charlotte October 14th, 1780, he and Tarleton camped at the house of Robert Wilson, in the Steele Creek congregation, who was then a prisoner in the hands of the British. He and seven sons belonged to a Mecklenburg command of General Sumter's forces. Lord Cornwallis endeavored to persuade Mrs. Wilson to influence her husband and sons to join the Royal standard as the way to rank, honor and wealth, promising, if she would pledge herself to do so he would immediately order the discharge of her husband. She replied: "I have seven sons who are now or have been bearing arms; indeed, my seventh son, Zaccheus, who is only fifteen years old, I yesterday assisted to get ready and go to join his brothers in Sumter's army. Now, sooner than see one of my family turn back from the glorious enterprise, I would take these boys (pointing to three or four small sons) and would myself enlist under Sumter's standard and show my husband and sons how to fight; and, if necessary, how to die for their country."

"Ah, General," interrupted Tarleton, "I think you have got into a hornet's nest. Never mind; when we



get to Camden I'll take good care that old Robin Wilson never gets back."

MECKLENBURG AND ROWAN COUNTIES IN THE  
REVOLUTION.

Cornwallis pronounced this the "most rebellious" section in America.

No regular army was quartered in these counties, but every man was a soldier cantoned out with wife or parent, ready to respond at his own expense to a call for service, to prevent the enemy's entrance, to drive him from its borders and to pursue him elsewhere or to suppress local disloyalty. It would be interesting to preserve the deeds of valor of these heroes obtained from historical records and tradition, but the limits of this work does not permit more extended notice than is connected with its subject.

In patriotism they were "chief among their Peers."

The public sentiment of this section is thus noted in *Lieutenant-Colonel B. Tarleton's Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America; London, 1787.*

HALT AT CHARLOTTE TOWN.

Charlotte town affords some conveniences, blended with great disadvantages. The mills in its neighborhood were supposed of sufficient consequence to render it for the present an eligible position, and in future a necessary post when the army advanced. But the aptness of its intermediate situation between Camden and Salisbury and the quantity of its mills did not counterbalance its defects. The town and environs abounded with inveterate enemies. The plantations in the neighborhood were small and uncultivated; the roads narrow and crossed in every direction; and the whole face of the country covered with close and thick woods. In addition to these disadvantages, no estimation could be made of the sentiments of half the inhabitants of North Carolina whilst the royal army

remained at Charlotte town. It was evident and it had frequently been mentioned to the King's officers that the counties of Mecklenburg and Rowan were more hostile to England than any others in America. The vigilance and animosity of these surrounding districts checked the exertions of the well affected and totally destroyed all communication between the Kings' troops and the loyalists in the other parts of the province. No British commander could obtain any information in that position which would facilitate his designs, or guide his future conduct. Every report concerning the measures of the governor and assembly would undoubtedly be ambiguous; accounts of the preparations of the militia could only be vague and uncertain; and all intelligence of the real force and movements of the continentals must be totally unattainable.

The foraging parties were every day harassed by the inhabitants who did not remain at home to receive payment for the produce of their plantations, but generally fired from covert places to annoy the British detachments. Ineffectual attempts were made upon convoys coming from Camden and the intermediate post at Blair's mill; but individuals with expresses were frequently murdered. An attack was directed against the picket at Polk's mill, two miles from town. The Americans were gallantly received by Lieutenant Guyon, of the 23rd regiment; and the fire of his party from a loop-holed building adjoining the mill repulsed the assailants. Notwithstanding the different checks and losses sustained by the militia of the district, they continued their hostilities with unwearied perseverance; and the British troops were so effectually blockaded in their present position that very few out of a great number of messengers could reach Charlotte town in the beginning of October to give intelligence of "Ferguson's situation." \* \* \*

The destruction of Ferguson and his corps (in the battle of King's Mountain, October 7, 1780) marked the period and extent of the first expedition into North Carolina. Added to the depression and fear it communicated to the loyalists upon the borders and to the southward, the effect of such an important event was sensibly felt by Earl Cornwallis at Charlotte town. \* \* \*

A farther progress by the route which he had undertaken could not possibly remove, but would undoubtedly increase his difficulties; he therefore formed a sudden determination to quit Charlotte town and pass the Catawba river.

Accordingly he fell back hurriedly from Charlotte on the night

of the 14th of October, "leaving behind twenty wagons loaded with supplies for the army, a printing press, and other stores belonging to public departments, and the knapsacks of the light infantry and legion." To reach the river they had to cut their way through "the Mecklenburg militia, who, supposing the cavalry still absent, attempted to harass the head of the column."

Extracts from letters of Lord Cornwallis, giving account of passing the Catawba at Cowan's Ford and march to the Yadkin River:

"The Militia of the rebellious counties of Rohan (Rowan) and Mecklenburg under General Davidson."

"We met with no further opposition on our march to the Yadkin through one of the most rebellious tracts in America."

## 2. SUBSEQUENT TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

### COMMISSIONER AND SHERIFF.

At the close of the Revolutionary War, General Graham was appointed Commissioner for Mecklenburg County to collect and sell government property. He acted as such in 1783-'4.

I have obtained from the State Treasurer's office the following return of two of his sales:

	L.	S.	D.
Capt. James Knox, 66 bushels of wheat.....	72	12	0
Capt. William B. Alexander, 250 lbs. of Flower, 4 L. 10 S. Per C. ....	11	5	0
Arthur Garrison, 250 lbs. of Flower @ 6 S. Per C....	15	0	0
Hugh Reynolds, 323 @ 6 L. Per C. ....	19	8	0
James McNeely, 1 Musquit .....	3	6	0
James Henry, 1 Rife Gun .....	23	0	0
William Raison, Musquit .....	0	19	0
Thomas Polk, 4 Gun Barrels .....	0	7	0
William Driskill, 4 Gun Barrels .....	0	15	0
David Freeman, Ditto. ....	..	10	0
Thomas Polk, Do. ....	..	5	0
William Alexander, Do. ....	0	10	0

	L.	S.	D.
David Freeman, Do. ....	0	10	0
James Tagert, Do. ....	0	10	0
Hugh Pollock, Do. ....	0	14	0
William Driskill, Do. ....	0	14	0
Hugh Pollock, 8 Gun Barrels ....	2	3	0
Thomas Polk, 4 Do. ....	1	10	0
David McCrea, 8 Do. ....	2	10	0
William Wily, Bayonets ....	0	2	0
Charles Patton, Bayonets & Gun locks ....	0	8	0
Robt. Clark, Bayonets ....	0	6	0
Wm. Henry, Gunlocks ....	0	3	0
Tunis Hood, Brass ....	1	1	0
Hugh Pollock, Gun Locks ....	0	11	0
Charles Alexander, Gun Mounting & Bayonets.....	0	9	0
Jno. McCrea, Gunlocks ....	0	3	0
Hugh Pollock, Gun mounting ....	0	0	6
William Wily, Gun Mounting ....	1	1	0
Hugh Pollock, Gunlocks ....	0	16	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	162	07	6
Deduct Commissions 2½ Per Cent .....	4	1	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	158	6	4

ARTICLES SOLD AT PUBLICK VENDUE IN CHARLOTTE  
MARCH 12, 1784.

	L.	S.	D.
Wm. Paterson, one Musquit .....	0	11	0
Henry Syren, 1 Do. & Cartridge Box .....	2	6	0
Jno. Haris, 1 Musquit & Cartridge Box .....	0	8	0
Jos. Kinon, 1 Do. ....	0	15	0
Saml. McCombs, 1 Do. ....	0	13	0
John Harris, Four Wagon Wheels.....	70	5	0
Wm. Query, Smith Tools .....	16	10	0
Jno. Nelson, Dutch oven .....	4	12	0
Henry Syren, Do. ....	2	11	0
Saml. Wilson, 2 Do. ....	2	2	6
Alexander Johnson, old Wagon .....	67	8	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	169	1	6
Deduct Commission 2½ Per Cent.....	4	4	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	164	17	0

	L.	S.	D.
Sold at Vendue part of the Smith Tools for Money			
to Wm. Query .....	1	5	0
Paid Jno. McNit for hauling old guns.....	..	14	..
The Cryer 6 and Clerk 5.....	..	11	..
	0	00	0

State of North Carolina, Dbtr. to Joseph Graham, Commissioner of Mecklenburg County.

To himself, horse & Expenses in Collecting, removing the above articles twenty-one Days @ 10 S. per day—L. 10 10 0.

Rowan County. Joseph Graham, Esq., made Oath that the above is a true Return of the public property which has come into his hands in the County of Mecklenburg as County Commissioner and of his own time in Collecting the same.

Sworn March 27, 1784

Before me,

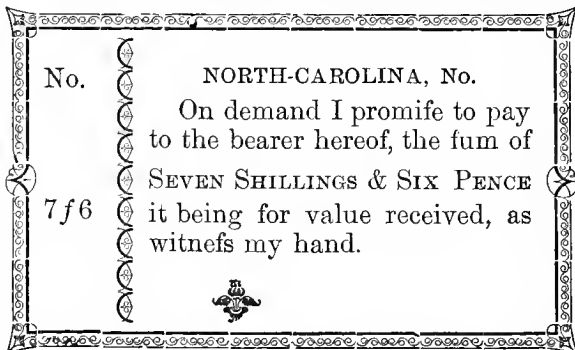
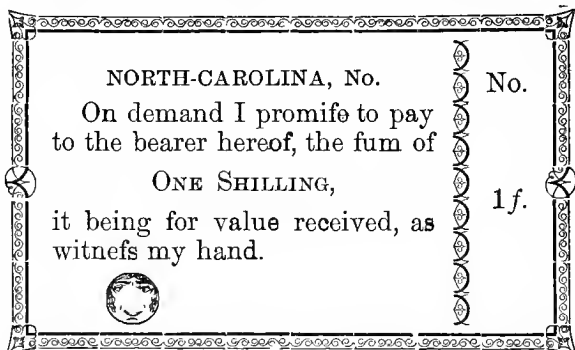
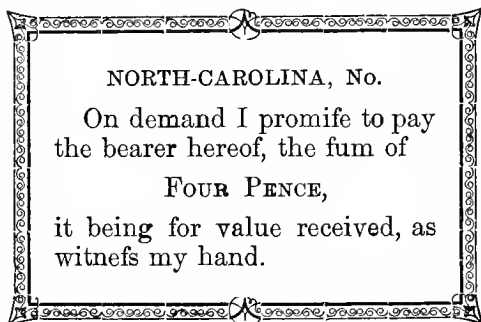
WILL CATHEY, *Jurat.*

Memo. Charge Jos. Graham with the Amt. of these sales.

Mr. Graham has paid the above to Wm. Lock, District Treasurer.

After the Revolutionary War, under the confederation before the adoption of the United States Constitution, forbidding anything but gold and silver coin being made a "legal tender," many persons kept quires of bills of different amounts on hand, and in paying an obligation simply numbered and signed the bill. To abolish this custom was one cause of the "specie payment" provision being placed in the Federal Constitution. The following are copies of some of these bills General Graham had prepared for use. They ran in value from four pence to seven shilling six pence, and perhaps higher. Each bill amounting to one shilling or more in value had a stub attached to it like those on checks or receipts of this time, which the payer could retain as evidence of the debt.

Judging from the number of these bills it is probable a large part of them were prepared for making change in settlements as United States Commissioner and Sheriff.



## 4. SUBSEQUENT TO THE REVOLUTION.

## CIVIL AND POLITICAL SERVICES.

He was Sheriff of Mecklenburg County, which then embraced Cabarrus and a portion of what is now Union, in 1784-'5. The Sheriff at that time was recommended annually at the June meeting by the Justices of the Peace of a county, and was commissioned by the Governor. The State taxes of Mecklenburg in 1786 were £4,830, 12s. 11*d.* In 1803 the act requiring the Governor to commission the sheriffs was repealed. After election, upon filing an acceptable bond, Graham entered upon the duties of his office.

## CONVENTIONS TO CONSIDER THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

1. He was a member of the first convention of the State to consider the proposed Constitution of the United States, which met at Hillsboro, July 21, 1788. This was his first experience in a legislative or deliberative assembly. He took no part in the debates. It seems to have been from the first assembling of the convention the determination of a large majority of the members to take no action upon the question of adoption or rejection, but to wait for amendments. A few leaders on each side debated the question. Among those who advocated adoption were General Davie, Judge Iredell, Governor Johnston, Arch. McLean, John Steele, R. D. Speight and others. Those who opposed ratification were Judge Spencer, Dr. Caldwell, Rev. L. Burkitt, Joseph McDowell, Colonel Lenoir, General Rutherford and Mr. Galloway. A motion for ratification had been made, which was the basis of discussion. After several

days of debate, Mr. Willie Jones, who was the real leader of the opposition, although he took no part in the debate, as a test, moved the "previous question." This prevailed—ayes 183, noes 84. The question on the motion to ratify was not put. Governor Johnston remarked that simply ordering the previous question determined nothing. Mr. Jones replied that "that was the object of the motion to neither ratify nor reject the Constitution. We can get our amendments and then come into the Union when we please." He then offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That a Declaration of Rights asserting and securing from encroachment the great principles of religious and civil liberty and the unalienable rights of the people together with amendments to the most ambiguous and exceptional parts of the said Constitutional Government ought to be laid before Congress and the Convention of the States that shall or may be called for the purpose of amending the said constitution for their consideration previous to the ratification of said constitution on the part of the State of North Carolina.

He annexed to this a "Bill of Rights" in twenty sections. Afterwards he offered twenty-six amendments to the Constitution. Judge Iredell offered as a substitute for these a motion to ratify the Constitution and a proposal of six amendments. The substitute was rejected by a vote of 184 to 84.

The following resolution was then adopted :

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Legislature of this State that whenever Congress shall pass a law for collecting an impost in the States aforesaid, this State enact a law for collecting a similar impost on goods imported into this State and appropriate the money arising therefrom to the use of Congress.

The President was directed to notify the other States of the action of this State upon the Constitution. Major



Graham supported and voted for all of Mr. Jones' motions.

This Convention is generally referred to as rejecting the Constitution, it neither rejected nor ratified it.

This Convention authorized and directed the Legislature to locate a place for the meetings of the General Assembly and residence for the chief officers of the State. It was composed of five members from each county. It met in the old Church of England house which stood upon the site of the present Presbyterian Church in Hillsborough.

2. The Convention of 1789 which ratified the Constitution. He was a member of this Convention also; which was composed of five members from each county. At the session of the Legislature in 1788 as Senator from Mecklenburg, he had voted for its call. It assembled at Fayetteville November 16, 1789, during the session of the Legislature. He, with many others, had been elected a member of each body. Some amendments were proposed to be adopted by Congress before the Constitution was ratified; but after several days discussion in "committee of the whole" they were rejected by a large majority and the following resolution was adopted:

WHEREAS, The General Convention which met at Philadelphia in pursuance of a recommendation of Congress did recommend to the citizens of the United State, a Constitution or form of government in the following words, viz. (here follows the Constitution).

*Resolved*, That this Convention, in behalf of the freemen, citizens and inhabitants of the State of North Carolina, do adopt and ratify the said Constitution and form of government. Ayes 194, Noes 77.

Major Graham, like many others who had opposed ratification the year previous, now voted for it. A committee was appointed which proposed eight amendments

to the Constitution to be submitted to Congress; they were approved by the Convention. An ordinance was passed allowing the town of Fayetteville a "borough" member of the Legislature. The other borough towns were Edenton, Halifax, Hillsborough, New Bern, Salisbury and Wilmington. These towns each elected a member of the House of Commons (Representatives) of the Legislature independent of the counties in which they were located and these elections were legalized by the Convention which adopted the Constitution in 1776. The proceedings of this Convention were filed in the office of the Secretary of State in manuscript.

#### LEGISLATIVE.

He was elected a member of the State Senate from Mecklenburg County for the years 1788-'89-'90-'91-'92. These Assemblies had much to do with laying the foundation upon which the system of our State Government has been built. He was neither an idle nor an inefficient representative of the people.

#### THE LEGISLATURE OF 1788.

It convened at Fayetteville on the 3rd day of November. This was the last Senate in which the Senators wore their hats while in session, the President or Speaker being "uncovered" and a member "uncovering" while speaking.

There were no standing committees, but Committees on (1) Proposition and Grievances; (2) Claims; (3) What Bills of a Public Nature are necessary to be Enacted; and (4) Public Revenue, were ordered at each session and members of each named. As measures were

referred to Committees, the motion for a reference named the Committee.

The first bill Graham introduced was to confirm title to certain negroes and prevent unjust law suits.

It is historical, and is as follows (Chap. 3, Laws of 1788) :

WHEREAS, In the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, sundry of the citizens of this State did enlist in the service of the State of South Carolina, in the brigade commonly called the State troops, commanded by brigadier-general Sumter, and several of them agreeable to their enlistment and service did draw negroes, one for each private soldier, and officers in proportion to their rank, which negroes were at that time taken from the disaffected citizens of said State by order of general Sumter, for that purpose; and the general assembly of the State of South Carolina did since, to-wit, on the twenty-first day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, pass an ordinance to indemnify brigadier-general Sumter, and the officers acting under his command during the British invasion, in the second section of which ordinance it is ordained, "that in all cases where any property hath been taken from any person resident in said State, and appropriated to the public use by order of the said brigadier-general Thomas Sumter, such person or persons shall apply for redress to the legislature, and not elsewhere; yet the disaffected citizens of that State, from whom those negroes were taken, have since instituted sundry suits against the citizens aforesaid of this State, for recovery of said negroes. For remedy whereof,

I. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of same, That where any citizen of this State shall have actually served in the aforesaid brigade, and drawn a negro or negroes for said service, if there is or hereafter shall be any suit or suits for said negroes commenced against them, or any of them, or any person or persons claiming by, from or under them, or any of them, on the fact being proved to the satisfaction of the court and jury trying the cause, that such negro or negroes were regularly drawn in consequence of said service, a verdict and judgment shall be given for the defendants; any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding. *Provided, nevertheless,* That nothing herein contained shall be

construed to vest the property of any negro or negroes taken by any person or persons of the aforesaid brigade, and not specially delivered to the said troops for their pay in the manner aforesaid for said service. And provided also, That nothing herein contained shall preclude citizens of other States, except those of South Carolina, from recovering their negroes, if any may have been taken for the purposes aforesaid, who have not applied to the State of South Carolina agreeable to the directions of the aforesaid ordinance for satisfaction, and received the same."

The second bill was to alter the mode of swearing petit jurors in this State—viz.: They had been sworn heretofore on each case they considered. The act provided for swearing them at the beginning for all cases tried at the term. It is in the following words:

"Whereas, the present method practised in the courts of law in this State of swearing the petit jury in every cause, in some measure retards the business in said courts and such frequent use of oaths in a great measure destroys their solemnity.

"I. Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That from and after the first day of June next, the clerks of the respective courts of law, shall at the beginning of their courts, swear or cause to affirm such of the petit jury as are of the original panel, well and truly to try all civil causes that shall come before them' according to the evidence given thereon, and if there should not be enough of the original panel, talismen shall take a similar oath or affirmation to try such causes as shall come before them during the day. Provided always, anything herein contained shall not be so construed as to prevent the usual challenges in law to the whole of the jury so sworn, or any of the said jurors, and if by reason of such challenges any juror or jurors shall be withdrawn, his or their place on such jury shall and may be supplied by any of the original venire, or of the by standers; by law qualified to serve on any jury within this State, and further, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to alter the present method of swearing petit jurors on State trials, but the same shall continue in the usual form as heretofore practised."

He voted for a "new Convention" for the purpose of reconsidering the "new Constitution held out by the Federal Convention as a government for the United States," which was adopted by, Ayes, 30; Noes, 15; seconded Mr. Willie Jones' bill providing the machinery for the election of delegates to the Convention at the State election in August, 1789, and for the assembling of the Convention, but voted against an amendment to hold the election in December, 1788, and to increase the number of delegates for each County from 3 to 5. He opposed the bill establishing the seat of government for the State. Each Legislature fixed the place of meeting for the next, and the Governor and the State officers had no specified place of residence.

He favored the bill for cutting a navigable canal from the waters of Pasquotank River, in this State, to Elizabeth River, in the State of Virginia. This was afterwards done and is now the Chesapeake and Albemarle Canal. He was, during his whole life, an earnest advocate of internal improvements by the State. In ceding the territory now embraced in the State of Tennessee, he favored making the Cumberland, instead of the Appalachian or Alleghany Mountains the boundary. He favored the amendment "John Sevier excepted"\* to the bill granting "pardon and consigning to oblivion the offences and misconduct" of the persons who supported the organization of the State of Franklin, and demanded the ayes and nays upon its passage. The ayes and nays seem to have been taken as the National House of Rep-

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\*John Sevier had organized the State of Franklin in 1785, which embraced what is now Tennessee. It continued until 1788. In 1789 the Legislature granted him amnesty and he was admitted as a member from Washington county. He was afterwards the first Governor of Tennessee.

representatives now "divides" with tellers. The name was recorded as the members passed between the tellers without regard to alphabetical or district arrangement.

We find among the proceedings an act for the relief of Sheriffs, allowing them to collect arrears of taxes. This seems to have been re-enacted at every succeeding Legislature up to this time and was probably by every preceding Legislature. There was also an act extending the time for registration of deeds. Such acts were passed by every Legislature until 1883, and clouded all titles to real estate in the State.

Members who failed to be present at the opening of the Legislature were required to give a satisfactory excuse for their absence or to pay a fine "of five pounds and also twenty shillings for each day absent, the same to be deducted from his compensation." A committee was appointed to report upon the absentees. Claims, when presented to the Legislature, were to be accompanied by an oath that they had not been rejected by the Auditor, Comptroller or any committee of the General Assembly.

Every County had a Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions. The Superior Courts were called District Courts and were somewhat like the present United States Courts, several counties composing a district and the jurors being distributed by law to the respective counties. Jails, stocks and whipping-posts were at the district court-house and frequently they were the only ones in the district. The Legislature resolved that the United States Government could make no treaties with the Indians within its bounds without the consent of the State.

The tax on slaves imported, which had been  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent

of value, was, in 1786, raised to 10 per cent. A vessel sailing in October would return from Africa in May with a cargo of slaves. The owners of several vessels which were absent when the change was made petitioned to be allowed to pay the rate of tax existing when they sailed.

The exportation of hides, pieces of hides of black cattle, calf skins, beaver, raccoon and fox furs was prohibited.

There seems to have been usually but one place of election in a county, and that was located at the court-house.

An act was passed to prohibit the importation of slaves into this State from States which emancipated them.

In court proceedings prior to this where there were two or more names to a writ or summons the same paper was to be sent to each party without regard to residence. By the act of this session a copy could be sent to each person who was a party in the suit.

#### THE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS IN THE STATE DURING THE REVOLUTION.

Mr. Person submitted the following report from the committee on Proposition and Grievances, December 5th :

“That the said John Devane and Richard Herring drew from the Treasurer of this State the sum of one thousand pounds to enable them to carry on a gun manufactory in the district of Wilmington—that by receipts from proper officers it appears they delivered one hundred muskets with bayonets, three rifles and six smooth guns—that afterwards the said factory with a

quantity of gun barrels was destroyed by the Tories and by the accidents of war the vouchers of the application of the aforesaid money have been lost and the said petitioners prevented from settling for the same. The committee, from these circumstances, are induced to recommend that the said accounts be closed."

There were Engrossing but no Enrolling clerks.

Seven members were required to form a quorum of any committee unless otherwise specified.

At the close of the session all bills approved during its continuance were reported and ratified.

#### JOHN SEVIER AND THE STATE OF FRANKLIN.

Section XV of the Declaration of Rights adopted by the Convention which organized the State of North Carolina in December, 1776, named as the western boundary of the State that granted by King Charles II in the charter to the Lords Proprietors, which boundary was the South Sea or Pacific Ocean. The Treaty of Peace with Great Britain in 1783 made the Mississippi River the boundary. The State or Province of North Carolina never exercised any jurisdiction west of the Mississippi River.

There was a proviso to section XV, "that it shall not be construed so as to prevent the establishment of one or more governments westward of this State by consent of the Legislature." In June, 1784, the Legislature (Chapter 11, Laws 1784) ceded most of what is now Tennessee to Congress, which was to be with similar grants by other States a common fund for the use and benefit of the confederation or Federal Alliance.



Chapter 12, Laws 1784, retained North Carolina's sovereignty and jurisdiction over this territory until Congress should act upon the matter. There were two Legislatures in 1784. One convened at Hillsboro April-June; the other sat at New Bern, October-November. The latter repealed the act of cession of the former (Chapter 16) giving as a reason the conduct of the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut. It is generally stated in histories that Congress declined to accept this territory. This is an error.

Section I of the repealing act is as follows: "Whereas, at the last General Assembly began and held at Hillsboro on the nineteenth day of April last an act was passed ceding to the Congress of the United States certain western lands therein described and authorizing the delegates from this State in Congress to execute a deed or deeds for the same, which territory, when ceded, was to be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United American States as now are or shall become members of the Confederation or federal alliance; and whereas, the cession so intended was made in full confidence that the whole expense of the Indian expeditions and militia aids to the States of South Carolina and Georgia should pass to account in our quota of the continental expenses incurred in the late war; and also that the other States holding western territory would make similar cessions and that all the States would unanimously grant imposts of five per cent as the common fund for the discharge of the federal debt; and whereas, the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut, after accepting the cession of New

York and Virginia, have since put in claims for the whole or a large part of that territory and all the above expected measures for constituting a substantial common fund have been either frustrated or delayed.”

Section II repeals the act.

The people of the territory proposed to be ceded complained that the State did not give them protection against the Indians or afford reasonable redress in the courts; as they were in the Morganton district and the courts were held at Morganton. This Legislature (Chapter 28) created the district of Washington, composed of the counties embraced in this territory, and organized the militia into a brigade, of which Sevier was placed in command.

Expecting Congress to accept the State's offer, a Convention was called, which met at Jonesboro, August 23, 1784, which issued an address to the people and adjourned until November; upon meeting then, and learning the action of the Legislature, it adjourned in confusion. Another Convention met December 14th, to which, on its assembling, Sevier read a letter from Joseph Martin, who had attended the session of the Legislature, naming the acts passed for their relief; told them that their grievances had been redressed and advised a cessation of all acts to obtain a separation from North Carolina. The Convention, however, formed a constitution, which was to be submitted to a new Convention called to convene November, 1785.

In January, 1785, a Legislature met at Greenville, formed a State government, elected Sevier Governor, with a full complement of officers, including judiciary

and militia. The State was to be called Franklin, in honor of Dr. Benjamin Franklin. In April Governor Caswell issued a proclamation "against this lawless thirst for power," and threatened punishment if persisted in. The Convention which convened on November rejected the proposed constitution and adopted that of North Carolina. There were dual governments in all the counties; courts were held both by the authority of North Carolina and of Franklin and were disturbed or broken up by opposing factions; the militia was enrolled in the same manner. This state of affairs continued to exist until September, 1787, when the Legislature of Franklin convened for the last time; it authorized the election of two members to the Legislature of North Carolina. The counties in Franklin had elected members to every session of the North Carolina Legislature.

Colonel John Tipton was commander of militia in this territory by virtue of North Carolina authority. He led the opponents of the followers of Sevier and Franklin and had frequent encounters with those acting under their authority. In 1787 Judge Spencer, at Jonesboro, issued a "bench warrant" against Sevier for high treason. In October Cols. Tipton, Love and others arrested him and brought him to Morganton.

While on parole to secure bail, he, by aid of his sons, escaped from custody. The State had passed acts of amnesty "to pardon and consign to oblivion" all acts in regard to the Franklin movement in 1786 (Chapter 23) and again in 1787 (Chapter 27). By the act of 1788 (Chapter 4) the offenders were required to take the oath of allegiance before the Judge of the Wash-

ington district or some county court of that district within three months from its ratification. By a proviso, amnesty was excluded from acts committed after that time. General Lenoir, when the bill was on its passage in the Senate, offered an amendment excluding Sevier from its benefits in the words "John Sevier excepted"; this was defeated, ayes 19, noes 24. Wheeler states this amendment was adopted, but he is in error.

In 1789 Sevier was elected Senator from the county of Washington and served as such, taking the oath of office November 7th of that year. This Legislature repealed the proviso as to "pardon and oblivion," but it had no reference to Sevier. He was elected to Congress from the Tennessee district in 1790. This year North Carolina ceded Tennessee to the United States. It was admitted as a State in 1796. Sevier was its first Governor, and was re-elected twelve times. He was twice elected a member of the House of Representatives from a Tennessee district. He was a gallant officer of the Revolutionary War, and was one of the heroes of Kings Mountain. He was also very active and efficient in suppressing depredations of the Indians in the mountain country. Richardson, in his Messages and Papers of the Presidents, says the proposed State of Franklin embraced what is now fifteen counties in Virginia, six in West Virginia, one-third of Kentucky, one-half of Tennessee, two-thirds of Alabama and one-fourth of Georgia. North Carolina had no jurisdiction except over the portion proposed to be taken from its territory.

## LEGISLATURE OF 1789.

Convened at Fayetteville, November 2, 1789.

The "rules" forbade wearing hats while in session, and the last rule was changed to read, "When the House adjourns no member shall walk out before the Speaker."

General Graham introduced a bill for processioning lands, which was referred to Special Committee, amended and enacted.

On November 16th the Legislature adjourned six days (thrice for two days) to allow the Convention to convene and transact its business.

The Convention met at Fayetteville and adopted the Constitution of the United States.

General Graham introduced a bill to provide a manner of choosing Senators, which was enacted, and was a "teller" of the first election of United States Senators.

A Committee of Finance was authorized this session. He was assigned to it and placed on the sub-Committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts and the business of revenue; also on due bills received by the late Treasurer and public debtors.

He opposed the bill paying domestic debts at the rate of four shillings per pound, and reducing the outstanding paper money, and entered for himself and others the following protest against its enactment—viz. :

"Dissentient: 1st. Because this State has or will obtain a credit for the full sum with the United States, for most of the vouchers on which the said certificates were issued to our own citizens, for which by the aforesaid act they are only to receive four shillings in the pound.

"2nd. Because it is a violation of the public faith, that would prevent us from having the confidence of our citizens, if ever it should again be required for the public welfare, therefore must be as impolitic as it is unjust.

"3dly. Because it is expressly contrary to the tenth section of the first article of the Constitution of the United States—viz., That no State shall pass laws impairing the obligations of contracts—and our certificate debt is at least a public contract. It is also contrary to the example held out by the sixth article of the said constitution, viz. That all debts contracted, and engagements entered into previous to the adoption of said constitution, should be equally binding as they were under the confederation, and that so unjust a measure is unprecedented by any of the States.

"4th. Because the certificate given to the officers and soldiers of the late North Carolina line are included in the act, and make the greater part of the certificates in circulation, and it may be remembered that it was optional with them at the end of the war, whether they settled with this State or with Congress, who would have paid them the full sum.

"5th. Because the widows and orphans of many active citizens who furnished supplies; perhaps the greatest part of their property, and who have died in their country's service, are now deprived of four-fifths of their just rights.

"6th. Because it gives the advantage to the disaffected and inactive part of our citizens in the late contest, who neither furnished supplies nor performed services to procure certificates and therefore ought to pay their quota of the domestic debt, as they enjoy equal advantages, and *vice versa*, takes from our active citizens what they have furnished and served over their proportion in the war.

"7th. Because the greater part of the certificates are in the possession of the original holders, and not in the hands of speculators, which is offered for the specious pretext for adopting this measure; or if they were, let it be remembered that the speculators, if they are the object, have purchased them for one shilling and six pence, and two shillings in the pound, whereby they are gainers one hundred per cent, but it is a fact well known that the speculators have disposed of and are realizing their certificates in land, and that the office was shut before a majority of the citizens could embrace the same opportunity, who of consequence retained them, confiding in the honesty and justice of the State.

RICHARD CLINTON,  
HENRY HILL,  
J. B. ASHE,  
JAMES GALLOWAY.

J. GRAHAM,  
JOHN NESBIT,  
CHARLES McDOWELL,  
GEO. H. BERGER,

General Graham voted against recognizing John Sevier as Brigadier of Militia of Washington District (Tennessee).

The University was established by this Legislature, and he was elected a member of the first Board of Trustees.

Hon. Richard Caswell, who was the first Governor of the State, was a member of the Senate this year and its presiding officer. He died November 9, 1789.

We find that General Graham introduced a bill to equalize the land tax. This question to this day has never been satisfactorily settled.

Inspection of tobacco was authorized at Clarksville, Tenn.

A bill was enacted allowing additional compensation to the Solicitor for the Mero District "for travelling through the wilderness." Mero included what is now Davidson County, Tennessee.

The amendments proposed by the Convention of the State to the United States Constitution were ratified.

The usury law was printed among the acts each session, and the Judges were directed to call attention to it in their charges to the grand jury in every county.

The County Courts were authorized to appoint patrols, generally called "patrollers," in the different Captains' beats in their counties. They patrolled their boundaries and punished or arrested any slaves found absent from their masters' premises without written permission.

In connection with this organization originated the well-known negro song, "before the war,"

"Run, nigger, run,  
The pat-er-roller 'll ketch you."

This Legislature elected the first members to the United States Congress from this State.

#### MANUFACTURE OF PAPER IN NORTH CAROLINA.

By an act of the Legislature Gotlieb Shober was loaned three hundred pounds without interest for three years to assist him in erecting mills for the manufacture of paper. In 1791 the Governor submitted to the Legislature Mr. Shober's petition for an extension of one year to the time of the loan, stating that the mills had been erected at Salem and that the cost had been so great that he could not conveniently pay the loan at the stated time. A ream of paper made at the mills accompanied the petition. The request for extension was granted, and when it became due in 1793 an act was passed permitting Mr. Shober to settle in six annual payments of fifty pounds each. Judge Francis X. Martin published by subscription in 1792 what purported to be a collection of the laws of England still extant in this State. Shober appears as a subscriber for twelve copies, many times the largest on the list. The subscription was doubtless paid in paper and the material on which the book was printed is a sample of the first paper made in the State.

#### LEGISLATURE OF 1790.

Met at Fayetteville, November 1, 1790.

General Graham was chairman of the Committees on Finance and Engrossed Bills, and was member of the Committees on Proposition and Grievances, Land Patents, to Amend Court System, and Apportion Congressional Districts. He introduced a bill to amend the law



(against the passage of which he had protested last session) to settle the domestic debt, etc.

He favored the bill to include the Senators and members of United States House of Representatives among those debarred from holding official positions under the State; also the bill to cut the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal. This bill was opposed by some upon the ground that it would give Norfolk trade which should be reserved for North Carolina towns.

On his motion the Treasurer and Comptroller were required to submit each session during the first week to the General Assembly a list of those persons who were indebted to the State, the same to be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Election.

All such persons were debarred from holding seats in the Legislature.

He opposed the bill to carry into effect the ordinance of the Convention of 1788 to establish a State Capital. The bill was rejected on second reading by the Speaker's vote—Ayes, 24; nays, 24.

He opposed a bill, which was rejected, "to prevent the handing around petitions for the emancipation of slaves."

He favored the bill to equalize the land tax, also the bill to have a correct map of the State prepared. On his motion the acts of Congress were ordered printed by the State for the Governor, Judges, Attorney-General, Treasurer and one copy for each county, to be kept by the Clerk of the Court. Also the following resolutions from the House were, on his motion, referred to a committee and amended:

Whereas, When the General Assembly of the State of N. C. in its session of the year 1789 did nominate and appoint Samuel Johnston and Benj. Hawkins, Esquires, to represent the said State in the Senate of the United States every expectation that had confidence in their integrity: opinion of their abilities: or certainty of their industry in discharging the trust reposed with them was entertained.

With regret do we add that our constituents and ourselves too sensibly experience the evils arising from a want of an exertion in them which if duly made could not have failed of being highly beneficial to this State, and might have rendered a government adopted under many doubts and with some difficulty better adapted to the dispositions of freemen.

Resolved 1. That the Senators representing this State in the Congress of the U. S. be, and are, hereby directed to use their constant and unremitting exertions until they effect having the doors of the Senate of the U. S. kept open, that the public may have access to hear the debates of the Senate when in its Judicial or Legislative capacity.

2. That when in Congress they be directed to correspond regularly and constantly with the Legislature, but during the recess thereof with the Executive.

3. That they have such of the journals as are not of a secret nature printed and transmit the same to the Executive at least once a month during each session of Congress.

4. That the Senators of this State use their utmost endeavors to effect economy in the expenditure of the public moneys, and to decrease the monstrous salaries given the public officers and others, who however much they may be deserving of the public gratitude or liberality for the eminence of present or past services ought only to be compensated agreeable to public economy, not enriched with the bounty of regal splendor.

5. That they strenuously oppose every excise and taxation law, should any be attempted in Congress.

Amended by deleting the preamble and substituting "Whereas, the secrecy of the Senate of the United States, the alarming measures of the late session of Congress, and the silence observed by the Senators from this State in not corresponding with the Legislature or Executive thereof, strongly impress the General Assembly with the necessity of declaring their sentiments thereon."

And add an additional resolution for another mail route via Halifax, Hillsboro, Salisbury and Charlotte.

This mail route was established, but did not go by Charlotte. It turned at Salisbury via Beattie's Ford, Vesuvius and Lincolnton to Spartanburg, S. C.

## LEGISLATURE OF 1791.

The Legislature convened at New Bern, December 5, 1791. General Graham was appointed on the Committee on Propositions and Grievances, Finance, Committee to Adjust Unliquidated Claims Against the State, on Engrossed Bills and Bills of a Public Nature. The duties of the Committee on Finance are prescribed in a resolution.

He introduced the bills to divide this State into Congressional Districts agreeable to the Census of 1790; also the bill "fixing compensation or fixing permanent salary of Governor and other officers and appointing the wages of the members of the General Assembly and of their Clerks and door-keepers."

He supported the bill to allow Justices of the Peace who held the County Courts compensation; also the bill to regulate the descent of all real estate, to do away with entails, to make provision for widows and to prevent frauds in the execution of wills.

He opposed the bill to pay owners of slaves executed by order of Court, two-thirds value. Prior to 1786 this was law. He was a member of the committee to prepare a bill as to manner of appointing Presidential Electors.

He opposed the bill establishing place of meeting of General Assembly and residence of chief officers of the State, which was adopted—ayes, 27; noes, 24—and joined in the following protest—viz.:

Dissentient:

Because permanence can not be insured to a measure carried by so inconsiderable a majority—a measure by which the interests of our constituents are materially injured—by which the public good is sacrificed to local combinations and personal influence—and against which as men, to answer the trust delegated to us, we solemnly protest:

Because although it may be inconvenient and inconsistent with the dignity of this State, that its government should continue to be ambulatory, yet in the determination neither economy or policy are consulted—the interest of the most valuable part of the State sacrificed (perhaps from jealousy of its importance) by the tyranny of an accidental and most trifling majority.

Because the precedent of deciding on carrying into effect measures attended with such infinite expense to the country, under the faction of an accidental vote which may be reversed at a day not far distant, is pregnant with the most fatal mischiefs, and will in future as it does on the present occasion, encourage an intrigue in our counsels, and abandon the command of the treasury and the control of the properties of the people to the efforts of design, and to the machinations of an interested party.

JOSEPH DICKSON,  
J. R. GAUTIER,  
JOSEPH WINSTON,

JOSEPH GRAHAM,  
DAVID CALDWELL,  
JOSEPH McDOWELL,  
And Fourteen Others.

He supported a bill to permit passage of fish up New River, in Onslow County.

He was on the Committee to Apportion the State into Congressional Districts; also on the Committee to Report on the Effect of the Operation of the United States Excise Law in this State, and to instruct our Senators as to the same.

He opposed the division of Dobbs County into Greene and Lenoir counties, and joined in the following protest—viz. :

Dissentient :

I. Because the extent of territory does not call for or authorize a division.

2. Because it increases a representation already complained of, on account of its weight and inequality.

3. Because we conceive it unjust to divide any county upon the principles and allegations set forth in this petition, upon which this division was claimed, and are of opinion, that it is the first time that ever a legislature rewarded any set of men for disorderly behavior, disrespect to the laws and the government of the State, outrageous rioting and breach of the peace.

b. Because we conceive this division was effected by the undue influence of a junto, to answer local purposes without paying respect to those general principles which ought to govern the decisions of all legislatures who are appointed to rule a people whose rights are equal, whose objects are justice and the protection of liberty.

5. Because the petitioners for this division, prayed it as the only remedy to get themselves released from the tyrannical jurisdiction of a number of men, some of which number are said to be in places of power and trust, and to pay no respect to justice, laws, or morality; yet after this division has been obtained, those persons complained against, are reinstated in their commissions without a dissenting voice from the representation of the county, which induces us to believe that the allegations made use of, were only ostentatious pretences to cover motives too unjust and impolitic to be mentioned.

J. DICKSON,  
THOMAS TYSON,  
J. R. GAUTIER,  
J. TURNER,

G. EDWARDS,  
J. GRAHAM,  
T. WADE,  
J. MCDOWELL.

He favored the following resolution, which was adopted—ayes, 37; noes, 8:

*Resolved—*

That it is the opinion of the General Assembly that the Senators from this State in the Senate of the United States are bound by instructions of the Legislature of this State in all cases whatever when such instructions are not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States.

This doctrine was held by the Democratic party in North Carolina. The Whig party, with which General

Graham acted from its formation until his death, held the contrary view—viz.: That when a person was elected to an official position he was supposed to have better facilities for determining his course of action on questions which arose in the discharge of his duties than the people generally who had little opportunity to examine the question, and the representative was not bound to follow the will of the elective power, or instructions from them; that it was no excuse for wrong-doing that his constituents instructed him to thus cast his vote. The Whigs having a majority in the Legislature of 1838, and desiring the United States Senators, who were Democrats, to vote for the repeal of the resolution expunging the resolution censuring the President (General Jackson) for removing the deposits from the United States Bank, resolved, in substance, that the Senators would by so doing express the will of majority of their constituents. The Senators replied that they recognized the right of the Legislature to instruct them; that this was not a resolution of instruction, but they would resign, to take effect after the election in 1840.

The Whigs carried the Legislature in 1840, and Willie P. Mangum was elected, vice Bedford Brown, and W. A. Graham, vice Judge Robert Strange.

General Graham supported the bill to establish a General Court of Review (Supreme Court), but there were only thirteen votes for the measure to thirty-six against; also the bill quieting ancient titles and limiting the claims of the State (Statute of Limitations).

When elections were held sick members were waited on at their rooms and their ballots taken.

This Legislature formulated the new oath for State and County officers.

Buncombe County was formed out of Rutherford and Burke Counties. It comprised all of the State west of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

A bill to elect Congressmen on a general ballot, as Presidential Electors are now elected, was defeated. Also one defining sufficient fences.

The Governor of Virginia offered assistance from his State if the State would open the Roanoke River to navigation.

Chapter 9, 1791, to regulate the practice of physic in this State:

I. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That every person practising as a physician or surgeon, shall deliver his account or bill of particulars to all and every patient in plain English words, or as nearly so as the articles will admit; all and every one of which accounts shall be liable, whenever the patient, his or her executors or administrators, shall require, to be taxed by the court and jury of the court of pleas and quarter-sessions of the county where the party complaining resides, calling to their aid and assistance such testimony as they may think proper.

Chap. 3. District courts had a specified number of jurymen from each county in the district. The courts continued thirteen work days. The judges at the previous court made a calendar of the days of the term of the succeeding court upon which the business from each county would be transacted and the clerks published the calendar.

Chapter 11 is the first statute against bigamy.

Chapter 12. Stealing a horse is punishable with death, without benefit of clergy.

## LEGISLATURE OF 1792.

Met at New Bern, 15th November.

The course of passage of a bill through the Legislature had formerly been that as it passed a reading in one House it was sent to the other, and when it had passed there it was returned, and so on until it had passed three readings in each House. If either House rejected it on any reading, no notice of its action was sent to the other House. A resolution was adopted this session to notify the other House of any measure rejected on any reading.

On Graham's motion, a Committee on Finance was appointed to consist of members from each House, and they were directed to inquire into the net amount of the revenues of the State; also into the state of the Treasury and the application of the moneys in the same at the last settlement and those since collected; also that they inquire and report all delinquencies and how far the different resolutions of the last General Assembly respecting delinquents have been carried into effect by the Treasurer and what success he had in collecting the arrears due to the State from persons resident in the western ceded territory.

He served on Committees on Claims, Bills of Public Nature, Presidential Electors.

The State was entitled to twelve electors—that is (as now), one for each member of the House of Representatives and one for each Senator. It was divided into twelve districts and an elector was elected for each district, the voters in each district voting only for their elector. In 1811 the law was changed so that the Legislature elected all the electors. This act caused the an-



nexed letter of General Graham to Governor Hawkins, in 1812:

LINCOLN COUNTY, 13 July, 1812.

DEAR SIR:—A number of citizens of Lincoln County and of adjoining counties intended to have forwarded petitions to your Excellency similar to that sent by our sister county, Mecklenburg, soliciting you to call the General Assembly before the annual meeting; time enough to lay off the State into districts for Electors to vote for President and Vice-President of the United States and repeal the present law vesting that power in the Legislature. Being informed that you have appointed your council to meet on the fourteenth inst., and supposing if such petitions are forwarded hereafter you might think it inexpedient again to call them; I would beg leave to suggest to your Excellency the policy of submitting to your Council, when convened, the propriety of calling the Legislature for the purpose aforesaid; as it can be no additional expense to the State, for they may continue their session the usual time and adjourn so much the sooner. After the many able discussions the subject underwent in the public prints, by grand juries and others, it would be unnecessary to use arguments to show the unconstitutionality and impropriety of the act aforesaid. It is enough that your Excellency and the honorable Council has sufficient evidence to convince you that a majority of the counties are much dissatisfied with the aforesaid act; and that sound policy recommends at the present juncture that every real cause of complaint ought to be removed; as the proper method to inspire confidence in the constituted authority at the present eventful crisis.

For while I believe the people will be unanimous in support of their government against foreign aggression, they will have but poor consolation if they think their liberties endangered by internal regulations and find themselves divested of powers and consequence in the government, which they have been heretofore accustomed to exercise and enjoy, and which they flatter themselves they hold under the Constitution by as secure a tenure as their other rights.

It would be desirable that the people should know previous to the election whether it is probable that the Assembly will be called or not; for if they expect the law to be acted upon, no doubt they will require a test of candidate, that they will vote for such Electors as will support a particular interest; on the other hand, if the people are to elect Electors, then no doubt they will select for the

Legislature men in whom they have confidence for their talents and integrity, regardless of their opinions relative to Electors.

I am, with due respect,

Your Excellency's most obt. and humble servant,

To Gov. HAWKINS.

JOS. GRAHAM.

In 1815 the law was changed to the present system of electing all the electors for the State on one ballot, and every voter in the State entitled to vote for every elector to which the State is entitled in the Electoral College.

The electors for 1792 were elected by the Legislature.

The following are some resolutions adopted on national affairs by this General Assembly :

*Resolved*, That the Senators representing this State in the Congress of the United States are hereby instructed to use their unremitting exertions until they effect having the doors of the Senate of the United States kept open that the people may have access to hear the debates of the Senate when in its legislative and judicial capacities.

*Resolved*, That secrecy in legislation is the first step to subvert the liberties and destroy the happiness of the people; that it is not sufficient that the people should only know measures when effected, but that they should know the men and means whereby they were effected.

*Resolved*, That the right of instructing public servants is inseparable from the right of electing them.

*Resolved*, That the Senators of this State in Congress use their utmost exertions to have that part of the Impost Law repealed which obliges the article of salt to be landed at a port of entry alone.

*Resolved*, That they endeavor to have the District Courts of the United States organized in such manner agreeable to the resolution of the last General Assembly

that each Court may be held separate and distinct from the other at each of the towns of New Bern, Wilmington and Edenton.

At this time the Marshals seem to have made writs returnable to either Court at their pleasure without reference to the residence of the persons affected.

*Resolved*, That the Senators from this State be and they are hereby directed and instructed and the representatives from this State in Congress are hereby requested to understand it as the sense and to be the opinion of this Assembly that the paper currency of this State should not be drawn out of circulation by permitting it to be subscribed into the funds of the United States.

The financial question of supplying the people with a sufficient quantity of money or medium of exchange seems to be coeval with the history of the country.

The Committee on Public Bills was directed to formulate instructions necessary to be given Senators in the United States Congress, and to report such encroachments and innovations as they conceived the Congress of the United States to have made upon the Federal Constitution, and what taxation they find has been laid by the Federal Government and the grievances which the citizens of this State have experienced or are liable to experience in consequence of such a tax.

An act was introduced for the inspection of prisons and jails and looking to the comfort of the inmates thereof.

One was enacted to give the Trustees of religious societies the right to hold property and providing for its devolution.

The German Presbyterian Church on Second Creek, Rowan County was authorized to institute a lottery to raise funds to build a meeting-house to replace one which had been burned.

The Quakers petitioned the Legislature for the emancipation of all slaves.

The following is an extract from Governor Martin's acceptance of election as United States Senator:

With diffidence I accept the important trust, knowing the tender ground on which I am to walk, and though I should fail in the public expectations, yet my conduct shall rest on the candour of the Legislature with this assurance, that while my endeavors shall be exerted in promoting the general good of the nation the individuality and internal sovereignty of the State shall be my principal care to preserve inviolate.

General Graham favored a bill regulating divorces in the State, which was defeated.

The bill to divide Mecklenburg County and form Cabarrus passed second reading only by the Speaker's vote, and failed to pass third reading by vote of ayes, 24; nays, 29. He opposed this bill on every reading.

He favored the establishment of a Supreme Court, but the bill was rejected—ayes, 15; nays, 35.

He served on a committee "to burn such money as is unfit for circulation." He introduced the bill to apportion the jurors to serve in Court at Salisbury to the different counties composing the district.

On December 28th the bill to divide Mecklenburg County was reconsidered, and the line of division changed. It was enacted, he favoring it. There was a protest against its passage in the House. The motion "to lay on the table the motion to reconsider" seems to

have been unknown. The rejection of the bill was considered as finally disposing of it.

General Rufus Barringer, of the Confederate army, who was reared in the Dutch portion of Cabarrus County, is authority for the statement that the cause for the move for division of the county was that in the militia musters the Scotch-Irish would jeer the Germans on their pronounciation in giving the commands—*e. g.*, “wightweel” for right wheel, etc., etc., which irritated them very much.

Those favoring division in 1792 procured the aid of Hon. Stephen Cabarrus, of Chowan, Speaker of the House, and a most influential member. They named the county for him.

Up to 1861 all citizens in the State between the ages of 18 and 45 years were enrolled in militia companies by captain’s “beats,” and were required “to turn out” several times each year for Company, Battalion and Brigade Muster.

When Gen. Graham attended the sessions of the Legislature in Fayetteville, he usually carried his tobacco there to market, as it was one of the best markets in the State. The tobacco was packed tightly in a hogshead, which was carefully headed so as to keep dry. Around the hogshead were placed several large poles like fellies to a wagon wheel, shafts were attached to the heads, and a horse being hitched the hogshead rolled on the ground. Streams were forded without injury to the tobacco, When the market was reached, the horse and tobacco were sold. If there was a ship in port awaiting a load, the price was good; when there was no ship present, the date of the next arrival being uncertain, prices were low.

Speculators bought the farmers' tobacco at their own pricing, and sold it at a great profit when a ship came. To prevent this the Legislature authorized County Courts to establish tobacco warehouses in their respective counties. The tobacco was delivered, receipt taken for it and the tobacco held to await the coming of a ship. These receipts were negotiable and frequently passed in business transactions as a receipt for grain in an elevator now does in Chicago and other cities in the West. The law provided severe penalties against frauds in the issuing or handling of these receipts. This law was enacted by the first Legislature of the State and still remains upon the statute books.

The taxes of the General Government were payable in specie. There was but little of it at that time in the State. Agents were appointed in specified markets to buy tobacco with State money. This tobacco was shipped abroad, sold for specie and the State obtained the funds to settle its taxes with the United States.

Nearly all travelling from this section was on horseback. On arrival at Fayetteville the horse would be put to board with some farmer until the Legislature should adjourn or it was sold and another purchased when needed for the return journey.

Laws were frequently limited in duration, as is still done by the English Parliament, the ratifying clause stating the length of time they should exist.

A law was passed prohibiting the bringing of any slave from a State in which slaves were emancipated into this State and requiring the offender to give a bond of \$1,000 for the return of the negro to the State whence he came and \$500 penalty for each month he

delayed his return. This law remained upon our statute books until 1865.

A negro over fifty years of age could be liberated for specially meritorious services to his owner and be allowed to remain in the State. The petitioners for the liberation of others were required to give bond for their removal from the State within six months after their liberation.

There was no Supreme Court in those days, but there was an appeal from the County to the Superior or District Courts.

Grist mills were prohibited from being established nearer than two miles of each other. There was no place of residence for the government and State officers. The Governor resided at home, unless his presence was specially required elsewhere. He usually attended the sessions of the Legislature. The Comptroller and Treasurer kept their official documents at Hillsborough. They attended the sessions of the General Assembly, carrying such documents as might be required for inspection and a sufficiency of funds to pay the expenses of the session and such claims as might arise therefrom.

Chapter 25, Laws of 1802, enacted that the Governor should reside in Raleigh during his term of office.

I annex as part of Graham's legislative record :

1. A plan for a Military Academy for the State, which he submitted to the Legislature in 1802. Congress passed the act to establish a Military Academy at West Point, March 16, 1802, but it had not been organized.

2. A letter he wrote in 1808 to Gen. W. R. Davie, then a member of the United States Congress from South

Carolina, relating to the organization of the United States army.

He was a candidate for a seat in the House of Representatives in the United States Congress in 1813 in opposition to Hon. Peter Forney, and in 1823 against Major Henry W. Connor. He failed of election in each contest.

#### 1. PLAN FOR A MILITARY ACADEMY IN NORTH CAROLINA.

On the 4th day of Sept., 1802, a respectable number of the Militia Officers from the different Counties in the District of Morgan, together with a number of citizens from different parts of said District in the time of the Superior Court met in Committee in Morganton at the house of James McIntire for the purpose of investigating what plan should be recommended to the ensuing General Assembly for the better disciplining the Militia of this State:

Brigadier-General James Miller was unanimously appointed chairman.

On motion a digest of a plan to establish a Military Academy was read by Major Graham.

On motion of Col. J. Moore, seconded by Capt. L. Henderson, Resolved that it is expedient to establish a Military Academy in the State of N. C. Unanimously agreed to.

On motion of Col. D. McKisick, seconded by Mr. Davenport, Resolved that the Plan of a Military Academy proposed by Major Graham be recommended to the attention of the General Assembly.

On motion, Resolved that Major Graham be requested to transmit the proposed Plan of a Military Academy enclosed and sealed up, to the Speaker of either House of the next General Assembly.

JAS. MILLER, *Chairman.*

To the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, the following observations are respectfully submitted by their most obedient, humble Servant,

JOSEPH GRAHAM.

Among the writers on government however they may differ on other subjects, in this they agree: that no nation is secure without an efficient military force to protect it and their opinions on this subject are divided into the following, viz. Either a Stand-



ing Army or a well regulated Militia. This subject underwent an investigation during the time of the American War and since that time a majority of the Federal and State Legislatures have been in favor of the latter proposition viz. a well regulated militia which appears to be best suited to our Republican form of government.

If convulsion should take place, which history informs us such governments are liable to, that side which regular troops might take would most likely be preponderate and in all probability establish despotism.

The late General Washington in his farewell address to the Army; in his speeches at opening each session of Congress while he was President, earnestly recommended some efficient plan to be adopted for the disciplining of the Militia of the United States. President Adams was also equally importunate and our present President in his speech at the last opening of Congress urges "that they shall not separate until everything is done for putting the militia in perfect order that can be done were an enemy at our door."

Notwithstanding these earnest recommendations, for twenty years past, of those whom we esteem our wisest men and have enjoyed our confidence in the highest degree it may be asked what has been done towards carrying those recommendations into effect? Have the plans adopted effected the purpose? Are the officers generally capable of instructing their men in military duties that are essential to be known in time of service?

At the present time are the militia progressing in military knowledge or is it probable under the existing system they will ever acquire such a knowledge of their duty as it would be safe to trust the defense of the country to them against an intelligent enemy? To discharge the duties of a Field Officer in active service, it is the opinion of the undersigned, requires as much previous study as well as practice, as is usually taken to fit them for any of the learned professions.

Were any of us going to take a trip across the Atlantic, would we choose to go in a vessel navigated by landsmen who were unacquainted with navigation and the art of sailing?

Would we consider it safe to trust ourselves, our families, or property, to the power of the wind and the waves, under the direction of such ignorant commanders? If they proposed to give us free passage would we accept it? Or would we not rather pay

double to persons skilled in the art of sailing, and in whose judgment and knowledge we could place entire confidence?

Practically considered, as well might we expect a person who had never been taught the art of doing it, to form a clock, or other piece of mechanism, as an officer of middle grade to discharge his duty without being instructed.

The military art calls for profound study; its theory is immense, and the details infinite. Those who have been longest in service and most assiduous in their application, acknowledge they have yet to learn. Is it possible then, that officers of the militia can obtain a competent knowledge of these things, according to the present opportunities of instruction, in the short space of time their usual avocations will permit them to devote to their acquisition?

A nation that keeps a standing army has the advantage of perpetuating a knowledge of the military art, (and yet in aid of this they deem it necessary to support military schools of instruction for their officers); but, in a country like our own, where but a handful of regular troops is kept, and they placed in small detachments on an extensive frontier of 2000 miles, and the instruction of the militia so much neglected, whatever knowledge remains obtained by the war, will in a short time be lost. Surely, as matters stand, there is the greatest necessity for adopting some plan that would place our militia on a footing nearer equal to the troops of other nations than they are at present. If an enemy should invade our country with an army of regulars, would it be policy; would it be consistent with humanity to face them with an equal number of our militia, as at present trained?

Though I know there were not braver troops engaged in the American war, on either side, than the militia of that part of North Carolina where I was acquainted, yet I often had to lament a want of skill in officers and men, which generally gave the superior discipline of the enemy the preponderance, when the numbers engaged on each side exceeded five hundred, clearly demonstrating, that blind valour, without acting in concert by some fixed principle, could effect nothing; and as the numbers on each side increased, the advantage of the enemy was the greater, when the chance otherwise was equal.

In order that our militia may be qualified to act a proper part in whatever the future destinies of the State might require, I would propose that a suitable number of officers formed of our

own native materials, and selected from our own bosoms, who enjoy the confidence of the people, and are equally distributed among them, he instructed as hereinafter proposed: and without attempting to anticipate all the evils that would arise from our present situation, or giving a detail of the defects in the existing system, and the attempts that have been made to reform them, or their uniform want of success, will respectfully submit the following Plan of a Military Academy.

PLAN.

1. That the Governor for the time being, and the General Officers of the Militia, be perpetual Trustees of the Academy; that they will visit it from time to time, and assist in directing such arrangements as will best promote the purposes thereby intended, and they be authorized to contract with and employ, either in the United States or Europe, a person suitably qualified to carry into effect the following plan of instruction and superintendence for the Academy; and that that person be allowed such pay and rank as will procure one of respectability in his profession.

2. That the justices of the peace, and commissioned officers of the militia in each regiment, who may be present at the court that will be held in their county, after the first day of July in each year (due notice thereof being given) proceed to elect, by ballot, a young man, between the age of sixteen and twenty-five years, of a robust constitution, promising genius and good character, who can write a good hand, and compose tolerably well, understands arithmetic and geography, and who resides and will probably continue to reside, within the bounds of said regiment.

3. That on a return being made of the persons elected in each regiment, the first time, to the General of Division, they shall divide them by lot into four classes, as nearly as may be. The first class to commence on the first day of January following the election; the second class on the first day of April, and the others in rotation, to commence quarterly. Each class to attend one year, from the time of their commencement, except such time as may be appointed for vacation.

4. That such provision be made by law for their support and emolument, as will indemnify them while in service, and such as will, together with the prospect of future promotion, induce young men of the first respectability to offer at the election.

5. That every young man who shall serve with reputation one

year, and have been instructed in the different branches taught in said Academy, shall have a certificate thereof, signed by the President or Instructor, and receive a Brevet from the Governor, and a Sword and full suit of Regimentals, at the expense of the State; and on returning home to his regiment, he shall be considered as Adjutant thereof, until he receives a commission of higher grade. And when more than one such person is educated for each battalion, on the days of regimental or battalion musters, the Field Officers will appoint them such duties as will render the most assistance in exercising and manoeuvring the regiment or battalion; and in two years after the commencement of the institution, it shall be understood that the General Officers are limited to persons thus instructed, in the appointment of their Aids, Brigade-Majors or Inspectors, and generally, all appointments in the Staff Department.

6. It is proposed, before every regimental or battalion muster, that the officers, non-commissioned officers and musicians, be compelled to attend and be instructed by the Adjutant, such time as will be thought proper. There are in North Carolina sixty counties, in each of which is one regiment; and about twenty counties have two, making in the whole about eighty regiments, which divided into four classes, will make twenty to each class, or thereabouts.

#### PLAN OF INSTRUCTION.

##### FIRST CLASS.

It is proposed to teach this Class the Manual Exercise (for which purpose, muskets and bayonets ought to be provided), the keeping of their arms and accoutrements in proper order, the firings, facing, marching, wheeling, and whatever may be performed by a single platoon; the duty of sentinels on guard, the duty of guards in mode of relieving, the manner of going and receiving the rounds, the duty of patrols, and generally, whatever may relate to the duties of the private soldier, non-commissioned officers and musicians, forms of company returns when in service, whether for provisions, arms, clothing, pay, or descriptive lists.

As so much depends on accurate knowledge of the Platoon Exercise, and the duty of non-commissioned officers and soldiers, it is thought the first three months will be time short enough to learn these duties. And let it also be remembered, that in an army of 20,000 men, the accuracy with which they change their positions, depends on the precision of the movement of each single platoon,

and to have experienced and active non-commissioned officers, is esteemed the soul of an army. It is unnecessary to use arguments to show that an officer whatever his grade may be, ought to know the duty of each subordinate officer, and of the common soldier.

#### SECOND CLASS.

When this class assembles, the first class will, in addition to the duties, of alternately instructing them what they have been taught learn manœuvring by Regiment or Battalion, not only the evolutions in Stueben's Military Guide, but also some of those in the British System which were not wisely laid aside\*. And explanations given how they are applied when in actual service: forms of encampment and all such other duties as are performed by a single regiment, either in camp, in garrison, or in the field: forms of Court Martials, and their proceedings; style and manner of distributing the orders; likewise forms of returns made by the Adjutant, and returns and accounts which may be in the Pay Master, Quartermaster, Commissary or Hospital Department.† And while in this class each person should be provided with a well-bound book, in order to take down in form, all such returns and accounts and such other matter as are hereinafter mentioned.

#### THIRD CLASS.

This class is to assist in instructing the first and second, and themselves to learn a system of Cavalry Discipline, such as that

\*This refers to when a line is advancing and a thick wood presents itself in front through which you can not well pass in the line; "By the right of platoons or divisions advancing by file" you can pass it with more facility and when through by facing to the left and wheeling to the right can again form the line. After facing about, the retreat is performed in the same manner. The only objection to this manœuvre is, when filed off, you are exposed to the attack of cavalry; but it is performed in service only in such places as where cavalry cannot act. Baron Stueben published his Military Guide shortly after his arrival in America before he had a personal knowledge of the country. It is probable had he revised or published a second edition of his work, he would have inserted this with other evolutions.

† It cannot be forgotten that the State of North Carolina in the settlement of her accounts with the United States, for want of preserving suitable vouchers, and a proper system of keeping accounts in the different departments lost more than would defray the expense of the proposed Institution for twenty years.

‡ General Davie's system is certainly calculated to give the greatest possible effect to cavalry in an open country where there are large plains and no woods. But in this country, the face of which is covered with underbrush and woods, and often confined by swamps, fences, hills, rivers, etc., it would sometimes be difficult to find ground in some distance where some of the evolutions could be performed: his flank marches and changing front by threes instead of fours (as formerly practised), renders it more inconvenient, increasing or reducing the front according to local difficulties, or taking up the line of march from parade without first forming the single line and *telling off* a-new, which in service, on spur of the occasion, it would often happen that time would not admit.

published by General Davie\* and sanctioned by the Legislature, or that practiced by Colonels Washington and Lee, as less complex and better adapted to real service in a country which abounds in woods; or perhaps some plan might be devised from them both: the duties of a Partisan who commands legionary corps composed of cavalry and infantry; of ambuscades and secret marches and stratagems usually practiced to surprise an enemy; of reconnoitring and drawing plans of a country supposed to be the seat of war, and inferences drawn showing the advantage you can have by having such plans in anticipating the enemies movements and regulating your own; of retreating in order in the presence of a superior enemy; drawing plans of the smaller kinds of intrenchments in the field and the manner of fortifying Churches, mills, farms, fords and difficult passes, with the way of defending them. And after these demonstrations are gone through facing about and finding the most practical and best method of attacking and carrying them if in possession of an enemy.

#### FOURTH CLASS.

This class is to learn the Artillery Exercise, the use of cannon, carronades, howitz, mortars, etc. and generally (as far as time will permit) the duty of Engineers, and everything learned by the second and third Classes, on a larger scale: such as fortifying and defending villages, cities, encampments of large armies, and the manner of conducting sieges, choice of positions and science of posts. And at this stage of the Institution once in three months when the weather suits, for the purpose of instructing them in the duties of the field; the students ought to march out about a fortnight or three weeks through the country, thirty or forty miles distant; which would afford an opportunity of pointing out every advantageous position and what disposition ought to be made were an enemy met in any situation; or if they were found at a ford or other strong position waiting for you by what method you could most easily pass or dislodge them. The use of this kind of exercise will appear obvious. When afterwards traveling by himself, a student can not pass an advantageous position without examining it minutely; and at any place by a glance of the eye, or coup d'oeil (as the French call it) is enabled to judge of the best disposition that could be made of his party in every possible situation.

That a suitable number of Military Books be provided at the expense of the State and that such arrangements be made of the

time of the students so that a part be taken up in reading, writing and drawing and the other in exercise and recreation. When the Institution is fully in operation it is proposed that the students be divided into small companies and that those in the fourth class act as officers in rotation; which will not only habituate them to teach but save the expense of employing other instructors. The most exact subordination to be observed and good morals be inculcated and enforced. All kinds of gaming to be prohibited except such athletic exercises as tend to invigorate the constitution and for obvious reasons the game of chess; but even these to be admitted as pastime and not with a view of gain.

That such regulations be established as will prevent Duelling and render the proposers, aiders and abettors thereof disgraceful; and that a Court of Honor be composed out of the third and fourth classes for the adjustment of all differences, such as proposed by Mr. Paley for the Army.

In order to pay a due regard to economy and prevent the students from acquiring habits of luxury and effeminacy so destructive to the military character, it is proposed that rations be provided and regularly issued; that for the first and second classes a cook be allowed for every four; and that the third and fourth classes be allowed subalterns rations and a cook be allowed for every two. No slave or person of color to be admitted as cook or waiter in the Institution\*; but free men enlisted for the purpose, which by increasing the number when manœuvring will enable the instructor with more ease to demonstrate the more extended operations of an army. Also if the proposed Penitentiary Law should pass would it not be policy to have them in the vicinity of it in order to do such actual military duty as might be needed?

That no student be permitted to board in the neighborhood or fare otherwise than according to the rules of the Institution, while in health.

As the persons instructed are expected to command free citizens, who have not been habituated to subordination (so essentially necessary to give energy and effect to military operations) that they be instructed on first being invested with command of new troops to procede with the greatest delicacy and prudence, giving no orders but what every intelligent soldier will see the necessity of and when they give them, to do it in a firm, decided yet un-

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\*Lest you educate a Toussaint L'Overture.

tentatious manner and see that they are promptly executed; and in case of disobedience to punish the delinquent in such way as prudence will suggest and authority justify; whatever complaints may be made on such occasions such conduct tends to promote the service and will meet the support and approbation of a large majority who are well disposed and attached to order.

That they be instructed to pay the most profound respect and exact obedience to the Civil authorities and that to be orderly members of civil society and humane to a vanquished enemy are reputed the concomitants of true honor and genuine bravery. That if ever they are engaged in war they endeavor to carry it on with as much lenity as is consistent with the state of hostility and agreeable to the rules which humanity formed and the example the most civilized nations recommend: that all kinds of cruelty or ill treatment of prisoners, or citizens or waste of property that has no tendency to weaken the resisting force is to be avoided as ungentlemanly and fix an indelible stain on the arms of the troops guilty of such conduct.

#### SOME OBJECTIONS ANTICIPATED.

It may be observed that since the peace in 1783 our political horizon has been so clear, not the least prospect of war in any quarter with the United States; why then should we be at the trouble and expense of establishing such an Institution; however advantageous it might be at another time at present our circumstances do not appear to require it.

It is admitted that at no period since the Revolution were our prospects of peace so bright, but the greatest man our country has produced has told us: "that a time of peace is the time to prepare for war"; then surely it is more necessary to qualify a suitable number of scientific officers to command us than to store up naval materials, fix arsenals and provide other military stores. If this plan should be adopted the benefits resulting from it would not place us in a position to encounter difficulties sooner than eight or ten years from the time of its commencement and until a respectable number of those instructed should be promoted to the grade of field officers and some generals; as it is presumed they will be after they leave the Academy. If their conduct appears to merit it they will generally be appointed in case of vacancy, and when there are six or eight to a regiment of persons so instructed, if called into service, of a few weeks, they will transform the whole



militia into a formidable and tolerably regular army, when commanded by such officers; and notwithstanding the fair prospects at present, before ten years hence we may be involved in the most perilous situation.

War is often produced by the most trifling incidents and arises from causes which no political sagacity can foresee. Of this history furnishes many examples. We have now enjoyed peace for twenty years; that it should continue so long again we can scarcely expect. I believe that for the last century no nation in Europe has enjoyed peace for forty years at one time. What reason have we then to flatter ourselves that we shall always continue in our present happy condition and make no preparation to meet adverse fortune? On the article of expense let us compare the advantages resulting from the measure with the danger of neglecting it. I should not be charged with exaggerating to suppose that before twenty years hence the lives of ourselves, of our children, the security of our property, nay perhaps even our political existence as a free people might depend upon the military knowledge of those who would command us in the field. Shall we then toil to acquire property? Shall we expend considerable sums every year in forming salutary laws to regulate this property and protect our persons? Shall we be so anxious to preserve our excellent constitutions and the greatest privileges ever enjoyed by a nation; and are we to hold this and everything dear to us on so precarious a tenure as the protection afforded by our militia as at present trained?

Surely any reasonable expense would bear no proportion to the probable advantage in case of war. In private life we find it is necessary to expend part of our property to render the other part valuable to us. What would we think of a farmer who would manure his land, work it well in the proper season and pay no attention to his fences, but suffer them to rot and his crop to be destroyed because it would take some money to employ some person to make rails enough to make a good fence? Would we say he acted prudently or wisely in saving his money or that he was a good economist? In a national view, the parallel will apply with equal force.

Whatever may be your decision on these propositions the undersigned is not a cent gainer or loser more than the rest of his fellow-citizens; but finding those, whose business it is, neglecting to bring

forward anything that will remedy our defects in discipline; and being impressed with the necessity of something being done, and solicitous that our government be preserved to the latest ages in its present happy form; and anxious that if ever his country should be engaged in war, the lives of his fellow citizens and the cause of his country should not fall a sacrifice to the ignorance of those who should command them, he has deemed it a duty respectfully to offer his thoughts on this subject.

I am, Gentlemen,

With the highest respect and esteem,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

JOSEPH GRAHAM.

Vesuvius Furnace,

August 25, 1802.

The Legislature took the following action on the memorial:

Resolved That the thanks of this General Assembly be presented to Joseph Graham, Esq., of Lincoln County for his plan of a Military Academy submitted to the consideration of this Legislature, and that the address be printed, ten copies for each County in the State to be delivered with the Laws and Journals to the Clerks of the several County Courts and by him to the commandants of the several regiments, to be at their disposal.

2. TO GENERAL W. R. DAVIE, M. C.

Vesuvius Furnace, Dec. 19, 1808.

Dear Gen!—

On taking a review of the organization of our regular army I apprehend it is on a plan more expensive than needful. I observe there is one regiment of Riflemen and one ditto of Cavalry. I know of nothing that can justify such an appointment and expense except it is expected by the administration to send them to such distant points westwardly or southwardly as it would be too far for the Militia. If any actual service is expected the number of Regulars is so small there is no doubt the Militia would be called on; then sir put the question to yourself what kind of troops do you get You know you have as many Cavalry already equpt at their own expense as would be a sufficient proportion to any army of Infantry you would want and when you call for footmen from the Militia take the Southern States throughout I think you will

find the arms half rifles, and men who have been habituated to use them since their infancy and furthermore the Militia generally prefer service in the Cavalry or Rifles to that of the Line. I know it is a matter certain whenever either are wanted for actual service in the old United States enough can be had from volunteers from the Militia. After the war commenced in the south-land we had no Riflemen who were Regulars and I appeal to your knowledge of those times if we had not always a sufficient proportion of them yea the misfortune was we frequently had scarcely any other and as to Cavalry when the Militia was properly equipt, mounted and officered I could point out places where they acquitted themselves equal to Regulars. I have been with them when equal numbers of Tarleton's men fled before them.

The discipline actually necessary to be known in service for Cavalry or Riflemen is so simple it may be acquired in a short time. That the United States should have some intelligent officers for each I grant may be proper; but to keep on the establishment a whole regiment of each I think inconsistent with true economy.

Regiments of Musquet and Bayonette men and a suitable proportion of Artillery are the kind of troops we want; it is a work of time to form these from the Militia even if you had arms enough to put into their hands; until they were some time in service under regular officers they never did acquit themselves well on a large scale with those tools to the southward but generally acted well as Cavalry and Riflemen. After I was wounded in the Parthian fight opposing Lord Cornwallis entering Charlotte in September 1780 I was moved by a wagon out of the way of the enemy into Guilford County. I stopped all night near Mocks Tavern with the late Genl. Morgan on the eve of his going to the southward with about 300 regulars; interrogating me as to the position of Charlotte, the roads leading from it, the principal farms, mills, etc. etc. he inquired if we had many good Riflemen; mentioned his name was Morgan and supposed I had heard of his commanding Riflemen in the northern army which had been very troublesome to the enemy; but says he "my Riflemen would have been of little service if we had not always had a line of Musquet and Bayonette men to support us, it is this that gives them confidence. They know if the enemy charges them they have a place to retreat to and are not beat clear off." How well this doctrine of the General was verified you who were present are the best judge. Though the General might not be as scientific an officer as others he certainly

understood the duties of the field (fighting I mean) nearly as well as any of them. In the disposition General Greene made of his army at the actions of Guilford, Eutaw and other places, where he had a large proportion of Militia Riflemen he adopted the same principle that Genl. Morgan communicated to me and you observe thereby he escaped the errors and disasters of his predecessor to the southward who had formed his calculations on the Militia acting equal to Regulars when they were equipt in the same manner.

I assure you sir I have not made these remarks out of an itch for scribbling but from a solemn conviction that they are well founded. If any additions should be attempted to our standing army and you coincide with me in opinion you are at liberty to make what use you please of this letter. As a looker on I may sometimes discover things which might escape the attention of those who are constantly employed in the public service; in which case I will consider it a duty and take the liberty to communicate it at any time you have leisure.

A line on the times will be acceptable to,

Your sincere friend,

J. GRAHAM.

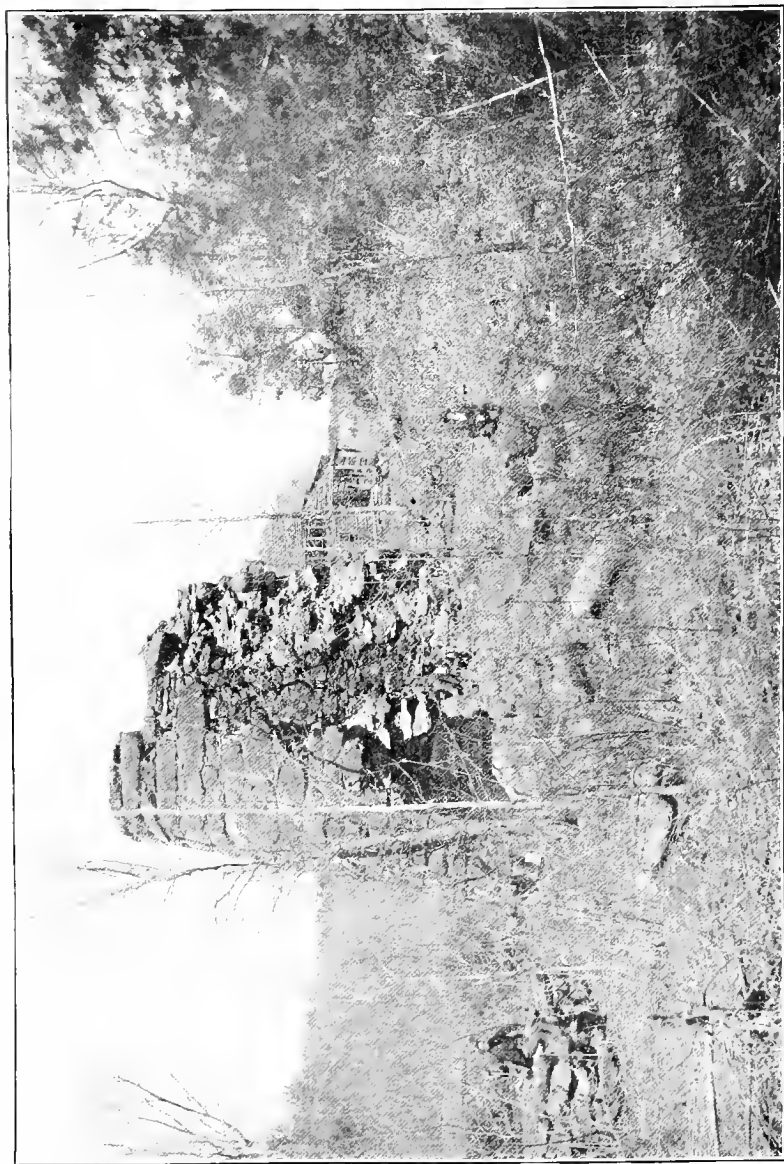
## 5. MANUFACTURE OF IRON IN LINCOLN COUNTY.

### AS MANUFACTURER OF IRON IN LINCOLN COUNTY.

In 1789 what is now known as the Big Ore Bank was "granted" by the State to Peter Forney, Abram Forney, Abram Earhardt and Turner Abernathy. Peter Forney purchased the interest of the others in the property. In 1791 Alexander Brevard, John Davidson and Joseph Graham purchased from Forney an interest in this property. Brevard and Graham were sons-in-law of Davidson. Captain Brevard was the son of John Brevard, a prominent Whig, who lived near Centre Presbyterian church, now Iredell County, N. C.

He and his seven brothers, viz: Doctor Ephraim, John, Hugh, Adam, Robert, Benjamin and Joseph, were sol-





RUINS OF VESUVIUS FURNACE, BUILT 1790

diers in the American Army. On account of this the British burned his dwelling and all other buildings on his premises February 1, 1781. He entered the army as cadet and was promoted to lieutenant and captain; served in the North Carolina line during the entire war, participated in the battles of White Plains, Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Stony Point, Monmouth and Germantown in the North with Washington, and was engaged at Stono, Camden, Eutaw, Ninety-Six, and other engagements in the South under General Greene. Captain Brevard's descendants have been prominent in all sections of the Union in which they have resided, especially in North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Alabama. His brother, Dr. Ephraim Brevard, prepared the Mecklenburg Declaration which was adopted at Charlotte May 20, 1775. He was one of the most learned men in his section, and served in the American army as surgeon.

The Iron Company built Vesuvius Furnace and afterwards Mt. Tirzah Forge. General Graham built a residence at Vesuvius and moved his family from Mecklenburg to Lincoln County. Captain Brevard built at Mt. Tirzah and brought his family from Iredell County. January 1st, 1795, Brevard, Davidson and Graham, under the style of Joseph Graham & Co., purchased Forney's interest in the Vesuvius and Mt. Tirzah properties. General Forney erected a forge near his residence, Mt. Welcome, and bought other lands, and about 1809 erected Madison (Derr) Furnace on Leeper's Creek about five miles from Lincolnton. He retained a half interest in the iron beds. In 1804 Davidson retired from the copartnership and its name was changed to

Alexander Brevard & Co. In 1788 the State enacted a law granting three thousand acres of land as a bounty to encourage the manufacture of iron. The law provided that upon application to the County Court by any one desiring to enter such land a jury should be appointed to view the lands proposed to be appropriated and report that they were not fit for cultivation and if the applicant produced to the Court in three years evidence that he had made five thousand pounds of iron the surveyor was ordered to survey the same and issue a grant to the applicant. These "bounty lands" were exempted from taxation for ten years. Under this act, in 1795, they entered three thousand acres extending from where Machpelah Church now stands beyond Alexis, on the Seaboard Air Line Railroad. Captain Brevard and General Graham continued their copartnership until 1814, when they dissolved. Brevard built Rehoboth (Reinhardt) Furnace and Forge; Graham built Spring Hill Forge which was located on Leeper's Creek, where the Camps now reside, six miles from Lincolnton.

The iron manufacture was very remunerative, and he accumulated a good estate from it. Nearly every obligation incurred in connection with it was made payable in some product of the forge or furnace—so many pounds for cutting a cord of wood or burning a load of charcoal, hauling wood into the pit, for labor in the works, or in any way connected therewith, hauling product to market, etc., etc. This condition of things made iron the basis of agreement between persons not connected with the iron works in many of their transactions, as almost any article could be turned into iron by



trading with the proprietors or laborers at the works. These works supplied the country to the west with cooking utensils and all other iron goods, also to the east as far as Hillsborough and divided the trade to Fayetteville with the Pennsylvania product brought by water. With the South Carolina manufacturers it supplied Camden, Cheraw, etc., until met by northern goods imported through Charleston. When crops were "laid by" and between gathering and planting time, teams would haul the goods to different points, as Salisbury, Hillsborough, Greensboro, Wadesboro, Camden, Cheraw, etc., where they were deposited with agents (generally merchants), who would sell them and account for sales when called upon. General Graham's son, John D., hauled castings to Fayetteville and exchanged them for cypress shingles to cover his dwelling. The western merchant generally came to the works with his wagons laden with the products of his section, such as cloth, woolen or flax or tow, leather, hides, dried beef hams, cheese, etc., etc., which he exchanged for iron goods. Sometimes these wagons would have to wait several days for their load, as there would be some ahead of them and each would be served in turn. A large pasture was usually reserved to accommodate the teams of those who were thus detained. These works supplied the United States Government with cannon balls and perhaps other products during the war of 1812-'14. These were hauled to the Catawba River and shipped by flat-boat to Charleston. The product of the furnace was usually cast into some vessel or article. Each day before sunset the "blast" was stopped and the molten metal dipped by ladles and poured into the moulds

which had been prepared. The mould of the pot was the most difficult to prepare. An efficient moulder was generally denominated a potter. On Sunday, and sometimes during the week if the ore melted faster than was needed for castings, the contents were put into pig-iron, so-called because in the bed of sand which was prepared for it there was formed a long piece (the sow) to which many perpendicular pieces (the pigs), two and a half feet long, were attached. When sufficiently cold the pigs were broken from the sow and the sow into pieces about the same length as a pig. The forge made wrought-iron as distinguished from the pigs and castings of the furnace, such as wagon-tire, crow-bars, horse shoes, plows, chain-iron, mattocks, etc. The blacksmith took the plow mould and made the plows called bull-tongues, straight shovels, and twisters or turning shovels. In the early years the forge manufactured the pig into wrought-iron, but about 1840 a process was introduced to make the wrought-iron direct from the ore. The forge required no Sunday work, the fire could be made and extinguished each day. The furnace, when fire was once lighted, usually continued in "blast" at least six months; stopping for any length of time caused a "chill" which it was impossible to reduce to a molten state and rendered a complete cleaning out and new hearth necessary. It had to be fed "Sunday as well as Monday." The "cupola" was really a small furnace in which pig metal was melted to be cast into utensils, machinery, etc. The fire and contents could be removed and replenished daily. It, as well as the forge, was frequently in "blast" when the furnace was "out." Lime

was required as a "flux" to assist in smelting the iron-ore. In General Graham's time this was hauled from King's Mountain, nearly forty miles. Two years after his death lime was discovered about one mile west of the iron bed and four from the works. It is remarkable that as the Lincoln County iron beds were a continuation of those of King's Mountain, it never occurred to the owners to examine for limestone in their vicinity. Between the iron and the limestone there is a vein of "hearth" rock, so called from its being used for hearths in the furnaces and forges. It is a sand rock containing much micaceous slate. This rock can be easily ground and with an admixture of clay would make a fire-brick of superior quality.

General Graham continued the manufacture of iron until 1834, when he transferred the business to his sons, John Davidson and Alfred. Alfred had removed to Tennessee near his brothers, Joseph and Dr. George Franklin, who resided in the vicinity of Memphis. He contracted cold on his return trip to North Carolina, and died soon after reaching Vesuvius. John declined to accept the property, as it was of much greater value than one child's share of his father's estate, unless the other children would receive the excess due them in the products of the furnace and forge. He applied to the family arrangement the method by which the business had been conducted with the public. This being settled, General Graham removed to a new house he had built about a mile down the creek from Vesuvius on what was then known as the Earhardt place, where the writer now resides. The house was burned in 1894, but a new

building was erected on the site. John D. Graham, in 1842, transferred Spring Hill Forge to his son, Charles C., who operated it until 1848, when he sold to . . . . . Hammerschold, from Sweden, whose family conducted the business until 1862, when they sold it to . . . . . Staton, then a refugee from Edgecombe County. The forge was washed away in 1868 and the land is now owned by the children of the late L. S. Camp.

He transferred Vesuvius Furnace, in 1846, to his sons, Joseph Montrose and James Franklin. They conveyed it, in 1849, to Charles C. Graham and Ephraim Brevard. Brevard purchased Graham's interest. He died in 1854, and bequeathed the property to his nephews, Alexander F. and Ephraim J. Brevard. In 1861 they sold it to the late J. Madison Smith, whose son, Franklin, now owns the property and resides upon it.

#### THE LINCOLN COUNTY IRON WORKS APART FROM GENERAL GRAHAM.

Captain Brevard operated Mount Tirzah Forge and Rehoboth Furnace until his death in 1829. He bequeathed Mount Tirzah to his son, Robert A., who operated it until about 1870, being assisted sometimes by his sons, Alexander F. and Ephraim J. It was washed away in 1880, and a flouring and saw mill occupied its site until 1902, when the dam was torn out.

Rehoboth was bequeathed to his son, Ephraim, who operated it until 1852, when he purchased Vesuvius and moved there. He sold Rehoboth to parties who sold to F. M. Reinhardt and Bartlett Shipp, and it is generally known as the Reinhardt Furnace. About 1873 it was purchased by John Leonard & Co., of New York, who

operated it for several years. It is now owned by J. E. Reinhardt.

General Forney bequeathed Mount Welcome Forge and Madison Furnace to his son-in-law, Dr. William Johnston, who, together with his children, conducted them until 1860, when Jonas Derr purchased the furnace and operated it until 1878. His estate now owns it. The forge was sold to J. D. M. Bolinger. It was washed away about 1868, and the Mariposa Cotton Mills, Captain Joseph Graham Morrison, proprietor, now occupy its site.

About 1804 the Fullenwidars "entered" the land now known as the Fullenwider, or Brevard, bank, just north of the Big Ore Bank, and erected a forge on Maiden Creek, about one mile from the present town of Maiden. They conveyed the property to Mr. John A. Hayes. Colonel Ephraim Brevard purchased from him and at his death, in 1854, bequeathed it to his nephews, Alexander F. and Ephraim J. The forge was operated by proprietor or lessee until 1880. The Providence Cotton Mill now (1902) occupies its site.

Turner Abernathy received a grant for the most northern iron bed of the Lincoln system, now known as the Abernathy bank. He built Mount Carmel Forge on Mountain Creek in Catawba County. He sold the property to Isaac E. Paine. The forge was operated until 1868, when it was washed away.

In 1849, Colonel Ephraim Brevard built "Rough and Ready" Forge on Mountain Creek. He sold it to J. Madison Smith. It was operated until 1868, when it was washed away in the great freshet in April.

During the Confederate War, J. Madison Smith erected Stonewall Furnace on Anderson's Creek. It was operated until 1876, and the property now belongs to his estate.

During the Confederate War Alexander Goodson, in copartnership with some of his neighbors, built a forge on Leeper's Creek. They bought ore from the owners of the iron beds. The forge was operated until about 1867, but has long since gone to decay.

This account has no direct connection with Joseph Graham. It will preserve, however, the history of the Lincoln County Iron Works during an important period of the State's history.

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#### 6. WAR OF 1812-'14.

##### JOSEPH GRAHAM.

He served several terms as Brigadier General and also as Major General of the State Militia, and maintained his connection with the military department of the State for a long time. In those days the Major and Brigadier Generals and the field officers of the regiments (Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel and Major) of the militia of the State were elected by the Legislature, the term of office being three years. This was afterwards changed and the field officers were elected by the company officers and the generals by the regimental and company officers. Afterwards the election of all officers was given to the rank and file. The Captain's "beat" or district included the territory in which the men of his company resided. Its boundaries were determined

by a court-martial selected from the commissioned officers of the regiment to which the company belonged. The regimental boundaries generally comprised a county, but where there was more than one regiment in a county the boundaries were determined by a majority of the commissioned officers composing the regiments in said county. The boundaries of brigades and divisions were determined by the Legislature. All persons liable to duty (from 18 to 45 years of age) residing in the Captain's beat were enrolled by him. They were required to "turn out" for muster at least twice each year. Each regiment or battalion at least once each year. Each brigade once in two years. Each division once in three years. All violations of military rules and regulations were adjudicated by a court-martial composed of officers selected from the command then on muster—whether company or regiment. Its findings had all the force of law attending a decision of a Justice of the Peace or a Judge, and were executed by Constable or Sheriff with the same faithfulness. The Captain's "beat" or district was the *unit* of organization in the State, as the *township* has been since 1868.

In January, 1814, President Madison called upon the Governors of North and South Carolina each for a regiment of troops to serve six months to reinforce General Andrew Jackson in his war with the Creek Indians in Alabama Territory, also upon the Governor of North Carolina to suggest a General for appointment to command the brigade formed of these two regiments. The North Carolina regiment was taken from the counties

of Iredell, Captain George Lee Davidson; Iredell, Captain Thomas Crawford; Mecklenburg, Captain Robert Hood; Mecklenburg, Captain John Garretson; Randolph, Captain Joshua Craven; Lincoln, Captain Edward Lee Gingles; Lincoln, Captain John McLane; Rowan, Captain John Frost; Rowan, Captain Jacob Krider; Wilkes, Captain James Martin; Surry, Captain William P. Waugh, cavalry. It was known as the "Seventh Regiment of North Carolina Militia in service of United States." A company was drafted from each regiment, ten men being taken from each company. Pieces of paper were placed in a hat or box, all being blank except the number of papers corresponding to the number of men required. These papers were marked in some way. The men, as their names were called, drew the papers; those who drew the marked slips were required to go into service. The company officers required were assigned or detailed by the colonels of the different regiments. The field officers were selected by the Governor. Most of the troops were from the command of Brigadier General Ephraim Davidson, of Iredell County. He was offered the command, but being in feeble health declined. Governor Hawkins, anticipating this, had requested their mutual friend, Mr. Archibald (Baldy) Henderson, of Salisbury, to write General Graham that he thought such would be the case; that he intended to offer him the command and would be glad if he would arrange his personal business to enter at once upon the duties. This required considerable sacrifice on the part of General Graham, as he had just dissolved his copartnership with Captain Brevard in the manufacture of



iron and was arranging to conduct the business alone. He, however, accepted the position.

Some time early in March the men who were to go from the vicinity of Vesuvius Furnace assembled at the "Tarr" (Derr) place, afterwards known as the Osborne Ballard place, now owned by S. A. Whitener, near Kidsville, with General Graham. At Beattie's Ford they met the men from the East Lincoln regiment. The company was formed, Captain G. L. Gingles taking command. They moved to Salisbury, where the regiment was organized, with Colonel Jesse A. Pearson, of Rowan County, commanding. The regiment marched by way of Wadesboro to Columbia, where it met the South Carolina regiment and the brigade was formed. Some of the friends of the Lincoln County men, and perhaps others, accompanied the troops to Columbia in their wagons on a business trip, as was annually done from this section. They reported that there was a big dinner, toasts and speech-making prior to the departure of the troops from Columbia.

The following is a copy of the roster obtained from the War Department at Washington of the field and staff officers of the two regiments composing the brigade:

SEVENTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

Jesse A. Pearson, Col. of Rowan County.  
Richard Atkinson, Lt. Colonel, Person County.  
David Kerr, Major, Mecklenburg County.  
Samuel Turrentine, Major, Orange County.  
Francis Irvine, 2nd. Lt. and Adjutant.  
Robert Torrance, 1st. Lt. and Quartermaster.  
Alexander Nesbitt, 3rd. Lt. and Paymaster.  
Stephen L. Ferrand, Surgeon.

## SOUTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

Reuben Nash, Lt. Colonel.

John McMillan, Major.

John Miller Major.

Edmund Ware, Lieutenant and Adjutant.

Beaufort T. Watts, Paymaster.

Walter S. Ahear, Ensign and Quartermaster.

John H. Miller, Surgeon.

MUSTER ROLL OF THE GENERAL STAFF OFFICERS OF THE BRIGADE OF NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA MILITIA  
IN THE SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES COMMANDED BY BRIGADIER GENERAL JOSEPH GRAHAM FROM THE  
23RD DAY OF MARCH TO THE 15TH DAY OF JULY, 1814.

Names.	Rank.	Commencement of Service.	What Time Engaged.	Names Present.	Remarks.
Joseph Graham	Brigadier Genl.	23rd March, 1814.	Six Months.	Joseph Graham	
Henry W. Connor *	Aid de Camp	23rd March, 1814.	Six Months.	H. W. Connor.	
William McCauley	Brigade Major *	29th March, 1814.	Six Months.	Will McCauley.	
Joseph King	Brigade Chaplain	14th May, 1814.	Six Months.	Chas. Sims.	
Charles Sims	As. D. Q. M. Genl.	13th March, 1814.	Six Months.		Sick.
David Ramsey	As. D. Q. M. Genl.	22nd February, 1814.	Six Months.	Jos. O. Watson.	
Jos. O. Watson.	Hospital Surgeon	22nd February, 1814.	Six Months.		Pl. Lawrence.
Richard C. Latham	Hos. Surg. Mate.	22nd February, 1814.	Six Months.		At Fort Hull.
John P. Smith	Hos. Surg. Mate.	25th March, 1814.	Six Months.		

I certify on honor that this Muster Roll exhibits the true state of the Genl. Staff Officers of the Brigade under my command and that the remarks set opposite their names are accurate and just.

I certify on honor that the above Muster Roll exhibits a true statement of the General Staff Officers of a Brigade of North and South Carolina Militia in the service of the U. S. commanded by Brigadier General Joseph Graham as mustered by me at Fort Hawkins. This 15th day of July, 1814.

\* Brigade Major was what is now known as Adjutant General of the Brigade. A Quarter Master performed also the duties of Commissary. Major H. W. Connor was afterwards prominent in political circles and represented his district in U. S. Congress from 1821 to 1841. Major McCauley was from Mason Hall, Orange county. Captain Sims and one of the Quarter Masters was from South Carolina.

Genl. Staff Officers of the Brigade under my command.  
J. GRAHAM, B. Genl.  
M. G. W. AAGE, Asst. Insp. Genl.

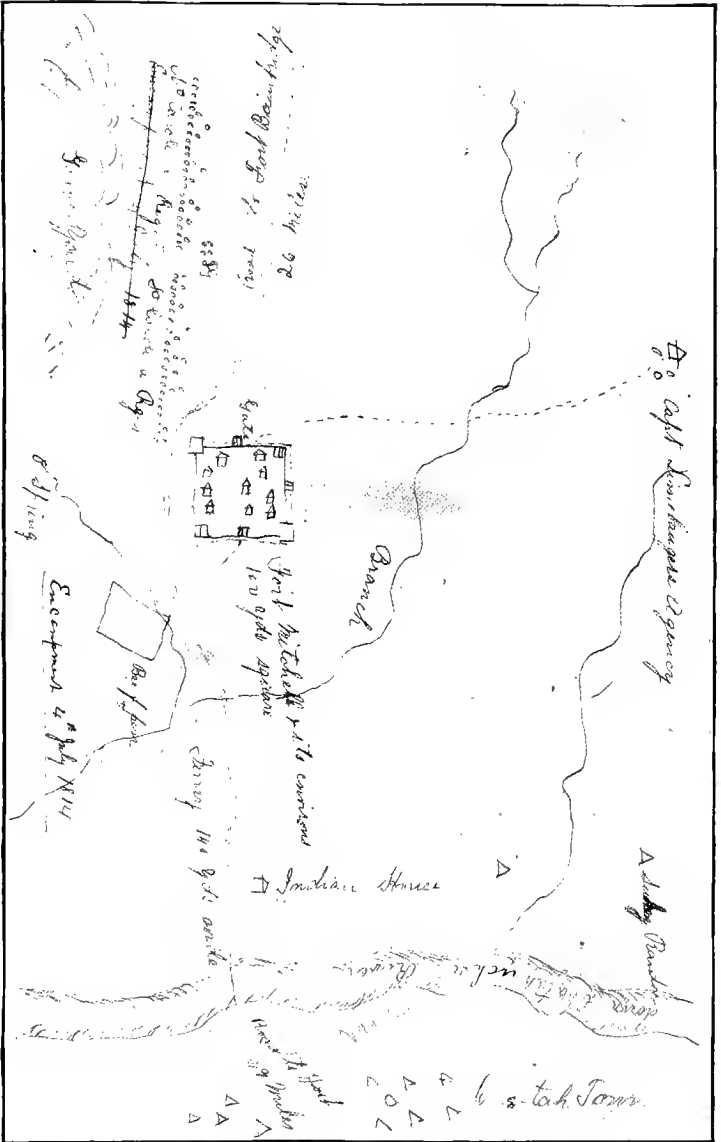
The command did not reach the seat of war until after the battle of Horse Shoe, which victory compelled the submission of the Indians. It was detained at Salisbury after organization more than a month by the failure of the United States War Department to earlier provide funds for its equipment and support. It received the surrender of several hundred Indians, and was used to garrison forts thought necessary to keep the Indians in subjection. Some detachment of this command were in skirmishes, but there was no engagement in which the whole participated.

General Graham had frequent "talks" with some of the Indian chiefs looking to their submission and peace.

It not being certain that troops would not be needed when the six months of these expired, in September, in July a draft was made for men to supply their places. General Graham's son, James, who had the month before graduated at Chapel Hill, was among the number "taken" from the Vesuvius company of militia. These, however, were not sent to the front. The regiment returned to North Carolina and was "mustered out" the latter part of August.

Many valuable papers referring to this expedition were burned in my house in 1894, the loss of which forces me to abbreviate an account of it. It will be noted that this command is placed under the command of Colonel John Graham by Mrs. Spencer in her *First Steps of North Carolina History*, also that Major Moore, in his *School History*, has Joseph Graham's name correct, but is in error as to his rank and command, assigning him as Colonel only of the North Carolina regiment.

I have obtained from the archives of the office of the



ENCAMPMENT, 4TH JULY, 1814.



Governor at Raleigh, N. C., the following papers relating to this campaign :

1. Acceptance of the office of Brigadier General of the militia.

LINCOLN COUNTY, N. C., 6 Feby., 1814.

SIR:—The last General Assembly having appointed me to command the Militia of the tenth Brigade in this State in pursuance of the act of the Assembly in such cases, I notify your Excellency that I accept of the said appointment.

If any additional requisition besides the regiment now ordered to Georgia or in any other service the militia from the western part of the State may be called out so as to require an officer of higher grade than commanding the present detachment I shall be highly gratified to be sent there.

I suppose your Excellency is acquainted that the Militia have always been tenacious of being under the command of the officer of their own regiment, brigade or division.

During the Revolutionary War it was deemed policy to indulge them in their choice as far as practicable and I suppose will be found so again.

As I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance with you, if an occasion offers requiring a brigade from the West, I would refer you to Col. Wm. Polk or any other gentleman who has been in the army with me relative to the propriety of my being called into service in such case.

I am &c with due respects  
Your Excellency's most  
obedient servant

To Gov. HAWKINS.

J. GRAHAM.

This letter from General Graham passed "en route" the following one from the Governor to him. The Governor, after asking Mr. Henderson to write to General Graham, as stated elsewhere wrote him from his home in Granville County as follows:

GRANVILLE, 10th Feb., 1814.

SIR:—I am requested by Maj.-Genl. Thos. Pinckney to furnish the Brigadier General to command the troops of the Carolinas recently

ordered against the hostile Creek Indians. As Brigadier General Davidson is of the Detachment he of course has been designated to command. I have in my instructions requested the General in the event of his being unable from indisposition or any other cause to take command to inform me of it by express to Raleigh as soon as practicable to the end that another selection may be made.

Having resolved to offer the command to you in case Genl. Davidson declines serving I have deemed it proper to apprise you of it this early in order that you may have sufficient time to determine whether you will accept or not.

I am very respectfully

Sir

Your Obedient servant

TO GENL. GRAHAM.

WILLIAM HAWKINS.

2. General Davidson having declined, the Governor sent a commission to General Graham by "express," which in those days meant by a special messenger. In accepting the commission, General Graham sent the following letter:

LINCOLN COUNTY, 27th Feby., 1814.

SIR:—Last evening your favor by express was received with the enclosures tendering the command to me of the detached Militia of the Carolinas. I will inform your Excellency that I cheerfully accept it not without some diffidence.

I did expect the brigade would only compose a part of the force destined against the Indians, and that Genl. Pinckney or some other would have commanded the whole but find it intimated in his letter that the command will probably be vested in the officer from this State. My best exertions will be used to meet the expectations of your Excellency and my country; but it may be that what is called "the fate of war" or other causes might produce disappointments; yet you may be assured that whatever the fate may be I shall act with upright intentions and am in hopes that the high honor your Excellency has done me may be found not to be misplaced. I have my uniform on the way making it of such material as can be procured in this part of the State. I am sorry to say I can not have it agreeable to the standard required. It will be a week or ten days from this date before I can start to Fort Hawkins. I learn



Col. Pearson will probably march tomorrow and think I can be in Georgia about the same time of his arrival. The notice being so short and everything to provide, it is really out of my power to go at an earlier day.

Not having any person in view really qualified to discharge the duties of Brigade Major from your Excellency's and General Cameron's recommendations of Capt. William McCauley I have written to him on the subject and I presume from the expectations he has had of appointment that he is ready at any time to come on.

I am with sentiment of respect

Your Excellency's most obedient  
and humble servant,

To Gov. HAWKINS.

J. GRAHAM.

3. Governor Hawkins sent the following letter in reply to this communication:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, N. C.,

RALEIGH, 8 March, 1814.

SIR:—Yours of the 27th ult. I have had the pleasure to receive. The acceptance on your part of the command of the Brigade of the two Carolinas ordered against the hostile Creek Indians is a circumstance I do assure you to me as is highly gratifying as it was to learn from gentlemen direct from Salisbury that the troops from this State were not only pleased but considered themselves as fortunate in having you as their commander.

Capt. William McCauley in conformity with your appointment has been commissioned your Brigade Major. I deem it unnecessary to swell this letter with instructions. So soon as your staff and yourself are in readiness to do so; you will repair to your Brigade at Fort Hawkins, Ga.

I must ask you to communicate to me the important occurrences of the campaign and beg you to accept an assurance of the great confidence and esteem with which I have the honor to be Sir,

Yours obediently,

To GEN. J. GRAHAM.

WILLIAM HAWKINS.

## Papers relating to War of 1812-'14:

## 1. TO MAJ. GENL. PINCKNEY.

FORT LAWRENCE, April 6th, 1814.

DEAR GENL.:—On the 2nd Inst. we passed the Ocmulgee, marched 9 miles to a creek, the wagons furnished by the Qr. Master are several of them incompetent, stalled, &c. the men were without provisions until after 9 o'clock on the 3d when the wagons arrived.

Marched about 12 o'clock, appearance of rain in the evening, encamped about 12 miles from this place, a number of men newly taken with the measles.

On the 4th it rained incessantly great part of the day; considering the state of health of the detachment, did not march. On the 5th marched at 8 o'clock, arrived at the agency at one. Flint River high with rains of preceeding day, had to wait for fixing oars to flat; the troops passed and wagons, (all but 4; this morning), at a late hour in the night.

Am about to march now 8 o'clock. I & Lieut. leave the detachment for the frontier, expect to arrive at Fort Perry to night & each day following from post to post, expect Col. Pearson, if the weather be favorable, will proceed faster, as the Teams are lighter & no water courses in the way. In pursuance of the order of the day:

I have ordertd 1 Lieut. 1 Sergt. 1 Corpl. & 30 men to relieve Lieut. Cohen; men chiefly bad with the measles & suppose the detachment will be obliged to leave some more who are unable to proceed.

I have the honor to be  
With the Greatest Respect  
Your Excellency's most Obdt.  
Humble Servt.,

JOSEPH GRAHAM,  
*Brigadier Genl.*

His Excellency GENL. PINCKNEY.

2. General Graham sent Governor Hawkins the following account of occurrences:

April 26, 1814.

Camp near confluence of Coosa and Talapoosa, head of Alabama; 170 miles nearly north of Pensacola, same distance east of Fort Stoddard, 260 miles nearly west of Natchez, 280 miles





Fort Lawrence 2500  
 square 2 blocks  
 2500

Fort Lawrence was  
 erected by Gen. Sigbee  
 Brigade in the fall  
 of 1813. is picketed  
 with round logs 13  
 feet above ground  
 2 Block houses of  
 round logs 4 feet  
 thick is fort named  
 Cabins built with  
 for store house  
 - pitel Barracks

Fort masonry was built by a detachment of regulars  
 in the summer of 1813 is picketed round 12 feet  
 high a ditch 4 feet wide one block house & store  
 house of round logs the earth from the ditch is  
 thrown against the pickets as represented  
 by the dotted lines - it has no bastions  
 it was excavated when fort Lawrence  
 was built



Fort Lawrence  
 60 yards square  
 Block House  
 Spring house  
 Agency  
 Genl's Residence  
 Barracks  
 Road to Fort Hawkins 30 mile

nearly south of Nashville, Tenn., 179 miles from Milledgeville, Ga., in the center of the Creek Nation. A circle of 160 miles taking this as the center would include but few white inhabitants.

SIR:—Owing to the measles and other sickness among the troops together with the wet weather and high waters the rear detachment from North Carolina did not arrive on the frontier until the 15th inst. On the 16th the army of the center corps crossed the Talapoosa and in the evening formed a junction with the right under Genl. Jackson; on the 18th arrived at this place; by intelligence since received the enemy dispersed in various directions on the night of the 19th. A number of chiefs and others have come in and given up. There has been no fighting since the 17th ult. with Genl. Jackson at Horse Shoe; the official account of which you have seen nor is it probable there will be any more this campaign.

We detached 700 men on 20th inst. down west side of Alabama; were gone two days, saw nor effected anything but burnt about a dozen Indian towns. On the 26th we sent out a detachment of 200 men with five days provisions over the Talapoosa on a trail leading towards Escumbia and Pensacola; horses, etc., conveying the party have not yet returned. One other detachment is expected to be sent out about fifty miles to the west after some gone to the waters of Cahaba. Genl. Jackson began his return march from this place for Tennessee on the 20th inst. His men's term of service from west Tenn., which are the greatest part, expires on the 28th inst., when they leave we will not have more than to garrison the chain of forts from this to Tenn. and make excursions on head of Cahaba and Black Warrior Rivers, etc. Our present force here is Brigade from Carolinas, two companies of artillery, a troop of dragoons, 39th Regiment of Regulars and some of the detached companies of same under Col. Milton. The army of the left under Col. Russell ascending the Alabama has not yet joined, expected in a day or two. Genl. Pinckney and his staff arrived here the day previous to Genl. Jackson's march. This day we began a regular fortification with five salient angles a quarter of a mile from here on the old French fort Thoulouse at which lies iron cannon with the trunion broken off said to be evacuated in the year 1755.

I hope your Excellency will excuse my not writing sooner as I had nothing worthy of communication and time was not to be spared. You will accept thanks together with Col. Polk for the in-

terest taken in my outfit. Everything was duly received by Major McCauley; as I have not time to write to Col. Polk I hope you will let him see this hasty scrap. Our troops are lately more healthy; are chagrined thinking it will be an inglorious campaign not having an opportunity to discharge a single musket at an enemy.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obdt. servt.,

To Gov. HAWKINS.

J. GRAHAM.

### 3. The following is of the nature of an "order":

Camp near Fort Jackson, Fort Coosa & Tallapoosa,

April 28th, 1814.

LIEUTENANT KENEDY:—On the receipt of this, you will take of the Garrison at Fort Bainbridge 1 Sergt. 1 Corpl. & 12 privates, the Condg. Officer at said Fort, is hereby directed to detail that number for you, with them you are directed without delay to proceed to Fort Mitchell & relieve Lieutenant Thompson & take command of the Fort, together with the detachment he has under his command, taking instruction from him & such orders as may be transmitted to you from time to time. Lieutenant Thompson will repair to Head Quarters & report himself to Col. Nash.

Your most Obt.,

LIEUT. KENEDY.

JOSEPH GRAHAM, B. G.

Colonel Pearson, commanding the North Carolina regiment, made the following report to General Graham of operations under his command:

Camp near the confluence of Coosa and Tallapoosa,

June 13, 1814.

SIR:—In the communication I had the honor to make to you on the 1st inst. I informed you that previous to leaving Hotawa I had made arrangements to have some other tribes of the Alabama hostiles brought in and two of their prophets; in the success of which I was not a little sanguine.

I have now Sir the satisfaction to inform you that I have not been entirely disappointed. At Camp near the Tewala Town where I had previously sent Capt. Crawford with a strong guard we received the surrender of fourteen warriors of the Calauda Town and fifty-four women and children. Among the number of men is

Naututgee a prophet of (I presume) considerable note as he abjures his former doctrines and says he was led astray by the "bad talks of the Otter men." His surrender is unconditional. I have not thought it necessary to confine him otherwise than keeping a guard over him in connection with the other prisoners where he will remain subject to your orders. On the same day forty-seven warriors and one hundred and seventeen women and children of the Tewasa Town surrendered and fourteen warriors and forty-seven women and children of the Oakcheia Town making a total in this surrender of 283 and in the whole number of prisoners as the result of this expedition 622.

The prophet Paddy is not yet in but I have intelligence upon which I think I can rely that he is on the way. He has sent me a talk that he will come without being forced and that "he has been a fool." He has no following which I presume has been the case with most of them. I have not trusted to his word but have sent a few Indians upon whom I can rely (I think) to accompany him in and shall look for them in a few days.

I can not close this communication without tendering you my acknowledgments of the solicitude manifested by you and the exertions you have caused to be made to forward an additional supply of provisions as soon as it was discovered that the objects of the expedition had so greatly enlarged as to render a supply indispensable.

With sentiments of my high respect,

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

J. A. PEARSON,

*Col. N. C. State troops in U. S. Service.*

TO BRIG. GEN. JOSEPH GRAHAM,

*Comdg. the Army of the centre at Fort Jackson.*

After General Graham returned home he wrote the following letter to Governor Hawkins, informing him that a portion of the North Carolina regiment had voluntarily remained in service after their term had expired until others to take their places arrived:

VESUVIUS FURNACE, 24th Aug., 1814.

DEAR SIR:—Knowing the solicitude manifested by you and the interest you felt in matters relating to the detached militia from

this State on the expedition to the Creek Nation; I take the liberty of informing your Excellency that several of the soldiers passed the 20th inst. who had been left in the garrison at Fort Decatur. They left the Talapoosa on the 1st day of August; the day their term of service expired. The troops were in good health but few complaints of indigestion and no deaths since the Brigade left there. They stated that a number of the chiefs had passed that place on their way to Fort Jackson; the place of holding the treaty; that (Lt.) Col. Atkinson proposed to the garrison to remain ten days after the expiration of their term of service; being informed by Genl. Jackson that the Tennessee Militia could not be there earlier. Notwithstanding their term of service had expired and they were five hundred miles from their homes; three hundred and fifty volunteered to remain with the Col. until relieved; the balance were officered and sent on. This Sir is practical patriotism; that such a number of men so far distant from home, having served their six months; their clothing nearly worn out; should when their services were wanted, although every legal claim their country had on them was discharged, volunteer under such circumstances is highly honorable to the troops and I think new in the annals of Militia service. Those who came on were placed under command of Capt. Hood; when they reached Fort Hawkins they found three companies of detached Georgia Militia drawing arms and designated to garrison the Forts Lawrence, Perry and Mitchell which had been committed to the charge of the South Carolina Regiment.

I have the honor to be with great respect,  
Your Excellency's most obdt. servant,

JOS. GRAHAM.

To his Excellency WM. HAWKINS.

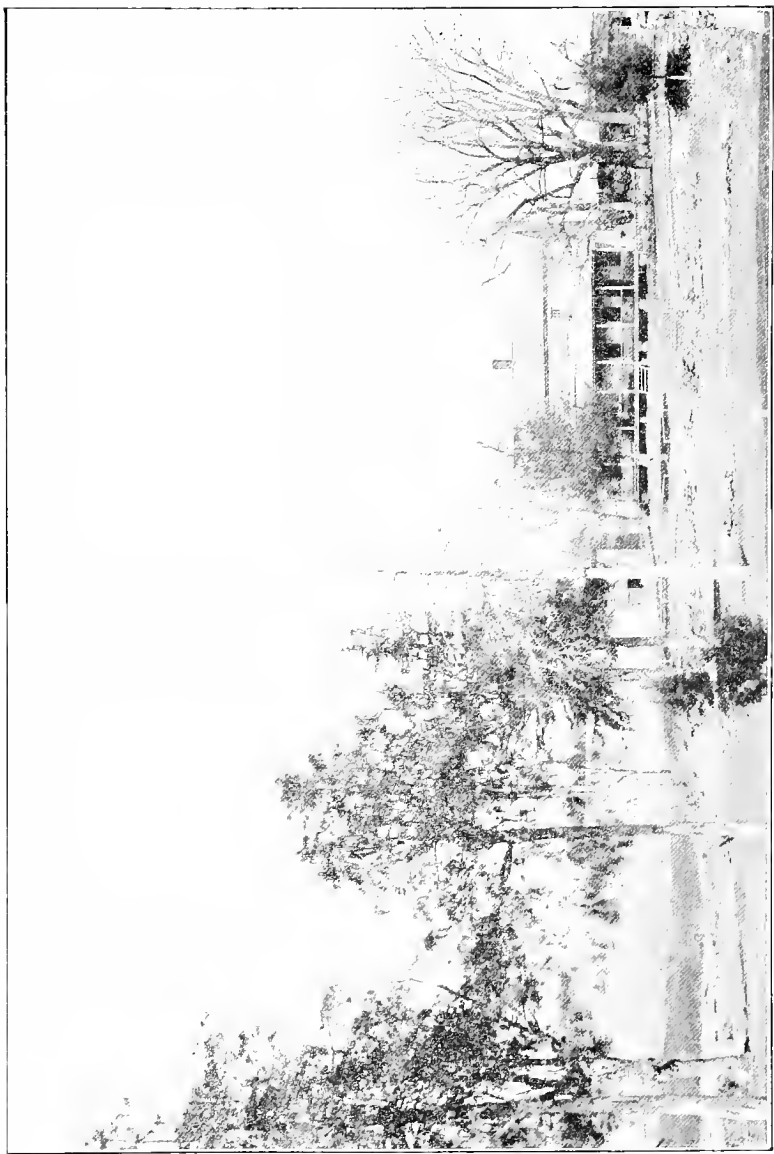
4. In the following letter General Graham offers his services to the Governor for another campaign:

SALISBURY, N. C., Sept. 8, 1814.

DEAR SIR:—Since the arrival of the last mail finding it probable that the War will assume a new aspect (if it continues) I am induced again to place my name among those officers out of whom a choice is to be made to command the detached Militia. Having become accustomed in some measure to the details of duty and the intercourse between the different departments attached to the army agreeable to present usage; which I found to differ from what it was







VESUVIUS FORGE RESIDENCE BUILT BY GENERAL GRAHAM, 1722-1902

formerly, and having most of the outfit ready for a campaign, I can go with much less inconvenience than formerly; therefore if your Excellency thinks proper, you are at liberty to appoint me to the command of the 3rd Brigade of this State. However as I have already been honored by appointment to service for one tour if any others have offered their services that meet your Excellency's approbation I submit that to serve the tour will be theirs to come. I shall cheerfully acquiesce in your decision.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOS. GRAHAM, B. G.

To his Excellency Gov. WM. HAWKINS.

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## 7. CIVIL AND PERSONAL HISTORY IN LINCOLN COUNTY.

About 1784 or '85 General Graham purchased a farm on Catawba River, in Mecklenburg County, just below Tuckasegee Ford, and another tract of land at the forks of the road about a mile from the ford as you go to Charlotte, generally known as the Red House. After his marriage he lived at the latter place until he moved to Lincoln County, in 1792.

His comrade in arms and legislation, General Joseph Dickson, resided about three miles distant, across the river in Lincoln County, where Mr. U. M. Johnston now lives, and where General Rutherford halted the night before the battle of Ramsour's Mill, awaiting tidings from Captain Falls' command. They opened a view between their residences and by means of flags communicated with each other.

### VESUVIUS FURNACE.

Soon after his removal to Lincoln County, the mail route mentioned in the legislative proceedings of 1790

was established. It did not go to Charlotte, but at Salisbury turned off via. Lincolnton, Rutherford, etc. This was at first a horseback route, and so continued until 1820. The service from Raleigh to Salisbury was once a week and from Salisbury via Lincolnton and Rutherfordton to Spartanburg, S. C., once in two weeks. In 1831 the letting of mail contracts provides for four-horse coaches twice a week from Raleigh to Lincolnton, and two-horse stage once a week from Lincolnton via. Rutherfordton to Asheville. This was soon afterwards changed to four-horse coaches and daily mail over the entire route from Washington city, and so continued until the railway and steam engine supplanted the horse and stage coach. The stage coach driver, as he handled his team of four, like the conductor on the cars in later years, was the admiration of the country youth. The driver carried a tin bugle from four to six feet long and when within a mile or so of the post-office to announce his coming "blew a blast," which reverberated over hill and dale, and which, when well done, was long remembered by those who heard it. The driver prided himself much in the execution of this blast, how he could make it roll over the country, and in turning corners with his team. About twenty-five miles apart stables were kept with fresh horses; these were harnessed before the arrival of the stage and the stop was but for a few moments.

Among the first offices established when the route was by horseback were Beattie's Ford and Vesuvius Furnace. Beattie's is perhaps the finest ford on the Catawba River. Nearly all roads from contiguous territory pointed to and were "sign-boarded" to it. Vesu-

vius Furnace being on the main line of travel, General Graham's acquaintances frequently visited him in passing. The furnace and accompanying buildings were immediately on the road, the family residence was about two hundred yards distant, approached over three terraces, through an avenue of cedars. The United States records giving date of establishment of this route have been burned, so the date can not be ascertained.

He became a Justice of the Peace soon after his removal to Lincoln County, and served as such until his death, in 1836. At that time the Legislature appointed these officers, who continued in office for "life or good behavior." The Justices of the Peace in each county annually elected five of their number to preside over the Court of "Common Pleas and Quarterly Sessions," generally called County Courts, to distinguish them from Superior Courts. This Court had jurisdiction of petty crimes and civil actions for limited amounts. He was frequently elected a member of this board. The Magistrate's office was of much greater importance then than now. To aid him in the discharge of his duties, he purchased Blackstone's Commentaries (four volumes) and some volumes of reports of decisions of cases by Courts of Review. He was frequently appointed commissioner to divide estates, lay off public roads and perform other duties for the public good. He could formulate any instrument desired by his neighbors and was of much service to them. I think he could have easily passed an examination for license to practice law. He frequently had a good deal of merriment on wedding occasions; was an expert civil engineer and surveyor, and did most

of the work in that line in this section for many years, as the records show. On one occasion he sold Rev. Henry Asbury and another young man tracts of land. The day appointed for them to come for the plats and papers was very raw and cold, with a heavy fall of snow; but the young men were on hand bright and early. After complimenting them very much on their punctuality, he remarked how much trouble was occasioned by tardiness or neglect to meet appointments and what a desirable trait promptness was in a young man. As they were leaving he remarked, "Now, young gentlemen, just be as punctual on pay day." He was a man of nerve and some surgical knowledge. Occasionally he would accommodate his neighbors in emergencies by setting fractured limbs, sewing bad cuts, and on one or two occasions by releasing jaws that had been unhinged by yawning.

He was an expert swordsman, and at log rollings, house raisings, harvest time or other occasions which gathered the neighbors together, would challenge some of the young men for combat with hickory canes instead of swords. He would give them permission to strike him if they could. His antagonist would endeavor in good earnest to do so, but soon found his cane knocked out of his hand and received a sound tap on the head.

#### INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

From about 1825 there was an organization in the State advocating State aid to internal improvements. It held meetings annually or bi-ennially in Raleigh and appointed in each judicial district a commission to promote the cause. The members were expected to call meetings or "convocations" and to have addresses delivered to

the people on this subject at the different court-houses during court week, generally on Tuesday. General Graham delivered one in Lincolnton at the spring term of Court in 1829. He advocated cleaning out the rivers for navigation to the highest available point and then constructing turnpikes across the country from the "landings" on the principal rivers. This was before the days of railroads. This organization probably did much to educate the people up to State aid to internal improvement, which policy afterwards prevailed. While a member of the Legislature he voted for the measure to render the Catawba River navigable and granting appropriation for that purpose. Up to the time of his death there was boating on the Catawba River from Abernathy's (Rozzell's) Ferry to Charleston, S. C. These boats passed by canal at Columbia from the Pee Dee to the Congaree. The shoals or ledges of rock in the river where very extensive were avoided by cutting a canal around them. At Mountain Island, in Gaston County, one of these canals still exists, and is used by the proprietors of the mill in conducting the water to the machinery.

At Land's Ford, in South Carolina, there were extensive works, somewhat similar to "locks." The place was a "seaport" town on a small scale. This accounts for the "sign-boards" at forks of roads fifty or sixty miles distant naming Land's Ford among the points to which the road led. Some of these "sign-boards" were standing a few years ago.

With the advent of railroads boating ceased on the Catawba.

The act of 1788 incorporated a company to open the

Catawba River for navigation in North Carolina one hundred miles, and the South Fork fifty miles. Exclusive navigation of the stream was granted. The company did not comply with the charter and upon petition of the people, in 1796, the charter was repealed; the navigation of the river made free and men liable to road duty residing within five miles of the stream were required to remove obstructions and keep the channel open for the passage of boats.

#### EDUCATION.

He was much interested in education, and doubtless supported Judge Murphy in his endeavor for public schools. He was a member of the first Board of Trustees of the University, for the establishment of which institution he had voted as a member of the Legislature. When Pleasant Retreat Academy, in Lincolnton, N. C., was established, in 1813, he took great interest in the enterprise, and was placed upon the first Board of Trustees, and so continued until his death. He was fond of reading, especially history, and when so doing always had a dictionary and geography at command—said “the reader should always know what the writer said and where he was.” He valued the advantage of a professional education at \$3,000, and made this difference in the division of his estate among his children, crediting the other sons with this amount against their professional brothers. James, George Franklin and William A. were all graduates of the University. James and William A. were lawyers and George F. a physician. The other boys attended school in the vicinity and neighboring towns and assisted their father in his business.



The college term of four years, the study for profession of two and the support before the profession proved self-sustaining, show this not to have been an unreasonable amount of difference.

He was ever ready to aid the boy of limited means in his neighborhood who exhibited a desire to obtain an education.

#### PERSONAL.

He was fond of the Scotch-Irish dish of mush and milk for supper and it was never omitted from the family table—the mush in a white china bowl and the milk in a small pitcher. On one occasion the Governor of the State and another friend stopped for the night. The General's older children were just about grown, the son having graduated from Chapel Hill and the daughter from Salem. They did not like to set the mush and milk before the Governor. The son was sent to see if permission could not be obtained for its omission. His reply was: "James, tell your sister she can make as many kinds of cake as she pleases, and put as many kinds of preserves on the table as she wishes, but I am as good as the Governor or anybody else, and I intend to have my mush and milk." When supper was served, to the surprise of the young people the Governor joined the General in his mush and milk with a relish and consumed fully as much as he did.

During the pastorate of Rev. Fred Nash at Unity there was considerable interest in the temperance movement and the formation of societies of Sons of Temperance. At a meeting held at Unity there was speaking in the morning, then recess for dinner and the organization of a society in the afternoon. During intermission

names were solicited for membership. The General was active in urging persons to join. One of the young men on examining the list of names, remarked, "General, I do not see your name." He replied, "Oh, this is for the young men."

MRS. JOSEPH GRAHAM'S FATHER'S FAMILY—UNITY AND  
MACHPELAH CHURCHES.

The General was for many years a member of the Presbyterian Church and for more than ten years prior to his death a Ruling Elder of Unity and was active and faithful in the discharge of his duties. In 1787 he married Isabella, second daughter of Major John Davidson, who came from Pennsylvania via Rowan County (1740) to Mecklenburg County (1760) and located in the Hopewell congregation on the premises now owned by Joseph Graham Davidson, a descendant in the fourth generation. Davidson married Violet Wilson, a daughter of Samuel Wilson, who came to North Carolina in 1740. He was prominent in the affairs of his section. He was a Delegate to the Provincial Legislature from Mecklenburg County in 1773. He held the positions of Major of Militia and Justice of the Peace, both under the Provincial and State Government. He was a delegate to the convention, May 20, 1775, at Charlotte, and as such signed the celebrated Declaration of Independence promulgated on that occasion.

He was Major of Colonel Polk's regiment in the campaign against the Scovillite Tories in 1775; also in that of Colonel Alexander in General Rutherford's campaign against the Cherokee Indians, in 1776. With his sons-

in-law, Alexander Brevard and Joseph Graham, he was a pioneer in the manufacture of iron in Lincoln County, N. C. He died in 1832 in the ninety-seventh year of his age, and is buried with many of his descendants in the family cemetery on the farm where he first located.

Major Davidson's other daughters married as follows:

1. Sallie, Rev. Alexander Caldwell, pastor of Sugar Creek church, a noted minister in his day. He was a son of the celebrated Rev. David Caldwell, D. D., of Guilford County.

2. Rebecca, Captain Alexander Brevard, a noted officer of the Revolutionary War, of whom mention has been made elsewhere in this book.

3. Mary, usually called Polly, Dr. William McLean, of Lincoln, now Gaston, County, N. C., the most eminent physician of his time and section. He served as assistant surgeon in the Revolutionary War and also represented his county in the two conventions which considered the Constitution of the United States, and as member of the Legislature, 1788-1792.

4. Betsey, married William Lee Davidson, son of the General, who fell at Cowan's Ford, February 1, 1780. Mr. Davidson was employed by General Graham as clerk in connection with the iron works before his sons were of sufficient age to assist him. Mrs. Graham was exceedingly kind and attentive to the orphan boy. He appreciated it and in after life it seemed a pleasure to him to speak of it to her children and grandchildren. Among other things he said that when the young people would propose to have a "pay" entertainment he frequently had nothing to contribute and would make some

excuse for his proposed non-attendance. She seemed to know his trouble and would contrive to have a private interview, and handing him the necessary money would say, without any explanation, "Now, Billy, you go."

5. Violet, married William Bain Alexander, who was for many years Register of Deeds for Mecklenburg County.

6. Margaret, married Maj. James Harris and moved to Alabama.

He also left three sons. 1. Robert, usually called Robin, who married Peggy Osborne. They left no children.

2. John, commonly called Jackey, who married Sallie Brevard, of Iredell County. They left four sons and two daughters.

3. Benjamin Wilson, born May 20, 1787, and called by his father on account of the date of his birth, "Independence Ben." He married Betsy Latta. They raised six sons. The three sons all lived within the bounds of the Hopewell congregation.

#### UNITY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, LINCOLN COUNTY, N. C.

John Beatty, a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian, was among the first settlers in Lincoln County. In 1749 he located on the western side of the Catawba River near the magnificent ford which perpetuated his name—Beattie's Ford. About a mile from the ford he built a log house which was known as Beattie's Meeting-House, where religious services were held from the first occupation of the country by white people. The adherents of the Established Church designated the buildings of the other denominations as "meeting houses," prefixing the name

of the denomination. This custom continued in use until the middle of the last century. Unity church was constituted in this house in 1801. In 1808 a larger building was erected. In a deed conveying additional land by James Lytle; James Connor, Alexander Brevard, John Reid and Joseph Graham are named as trustees and the "kirk" as Unity. The building was of logs, the floor gradually descending from the door to the pulpit, thus making the pews in tiers rising one above the other from the pulpit to the door. The pulpit was very high with a "hood" over it. There was a hooded pew on each side of it; one of these was occupied by the family of Captain John Reid, the other by that of Capt. Alexander Brevard. It is not known who were the pioneer preachers at this place. Rev. Humphrey Hunter came in 1796 and remained until 1801. Then came in the order named, Revs. Henry N. Pharr, Patrick Sparrow, James Adams, Frederick Nash, and R. H. Morrison, D. D., son-in-law of General Graham, whose services continued until "after the war." During Mr. Sparrows' pastorate camp meetings were established and continued several years. Some tents were erected by the members and occupied during the continuance of the services. These tents were usually log cabins. This was one of the earliest "camp meetings" of this section. The Methodist established Robey's Camp Ground in 1816; removed it to Rock Spring in 1834, where services have been annually held up to this time (1902).

The camp meetings at Unity were discontinued during the pastorate of Dr. Morrison. Captain Brevard and General Graham were members of Unity at its con-

stitution, and trustees. Captain Brevard was a Ruling Elder from this time until his death, in 1829. General Graham for ten or twelve years prior to his death, in 1836.

Most of the prominent citizens of the surrounding country were members of Unity. Its greatest period of prosperity was from 1830 to 1850; more than forty carriages brought worshippers regularly to its services, besides those who came in smaller vehicles or on foot. In celebrating the Lord's Supper the church still preserves the old custom of using for tables two high benches made for the purpose; on lower benches the communicants arrange themselves around the tables, the bread and wine are passed by the participants from one to another until the circuit is completed. A commodious, painted building erected in 1833 now occupies the position.\*

#### MACHEPELAH CHURCH AND CEMETERY.

In 1801, upon the death of Polly, the eldest child of General Graham, he and Capt. Brevard selected a spot as a "burying ground" about midway between Mt. Tirzah Forge and Vesuvius Furnace and enclosed it with a rock wall. It was near the public road, leading from Lincolnton to Beattie's Ford and also near the location afterwards of the plank road from Charlotte to Lincolnton and ten miles from Lincolnton.

Captain Brevard, at his death in 1829, bequeathed several hundred dollars for a church building at the burying ground. Several years afterwards the matter received attention, other subscriptions were made and a

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\*NOTE—I am indebted to Broad Ax and Forge, by Hon. F. Brevard McDowell, Charlotte, N. C., and to a sketch of Unity by Judge Nixon, C. S. C., Lincolnton, for much of this article.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT BUILDING, LINCOLN COLLEGE, N. C. BUILT 1898. 1902.







neat brick building was erected. In 1848 Concord Presbytery constituted a church there, which was named Machpelah from its proximity to the cemetery. Rev. R. H. Morrison, D.D., was chosen pastor and served as such until services were abandoned in 1865. Dr. Morrison was a native of Cabarrus County, graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1818 in a class of which President Polk, Bishops Greene and Otey, Hons. Hugh Waddell and B. F. Moore and others who became noted were members. He served Providence and Sugar Creek in Mecklenburg County, Fayetteville, and Charlotte churches as pastor. He was the first president of Davidson College; procured the charter from the Legislature in 1838, and superintended the establishment of the institution. On account of feeble health he resigned in 1840 and removed to his farm at Cottage Home, Lincoln County. He was pastor of Unity, and afterwards also of Castanea Grove until 1876 when he, on account of age, resigned the pastorate but preached at Machpelah when the weather was favorable, for several years. He was one of the ablest preachers of his church and no one was more regarded as a leader or respected for his integrity and purity of character. He died in 1889, aged ninety-one years.

The lands adjacent to Machpelah were owned by two or three persons to the extent of ten thousand acres or more. There were few white families within two miles of the church. Dr. C. L. Hunter, Messrs. D. A. Summerow, David Dellinger and Lewis Dellinger were elders of the church. By death and removal from the State the membership was much reduced. Most of those on the roll united with Castanea Grove at its constitution

in 1865. Those remaining joined the church at Iron Station when it was organized. About 1892 the pastor of neighboring Presbyterian churches began to hold services at Machpelah as a mission point. In 1901, by the labors of Rev. W. H. Wilson a church was constituted which now (1903) numbers over thirty members and seems to be in good condition. Mr. Wilson is highly regarded by the community as a Christian gentleman and an active worker. Capt. Jos. G. Morrison is an elder in the church. The vicinity of the church is now (1903) thickly settled. In 1859 Mrs. Violet Alexander, a daughter of General Graham, conveyed to Dr. C. L. Hunter, David A. Summerow, David Dellinger and James F. Johnston, as trustees of the church property, twenty-seven acres of land.

After the constitution of the church in 1848 other families used the cemetery. Dr. Hunter and Mr. Summerow, with members of their families, Dr. Wm. Johnston, father of Gen. Robt. D. and Gov. Joseph F. Johnston, of Alabama, among others, rest here.

Captain Brevard, three sons—Ephraim, Robt. A. and Theodore W., one daughter—Mrs. Eloise Hayne, and some other of his descendents to the third generation are buried there.

With General Graham are his wife, sons—James, Alfred and Robert Montrose; daughters—Polly, Isabella and Mrs. Mary Morrison; his son-in-law, Dr. Morrison, grand- and great-grandchildren.

The following inscription is upon his tomb:

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF  
MAJOR GENERAL JOSEPH GRAHAM  
WHO DIED NOV. 12TH, 1836; AGED 77 YEARS.

He was a brave, intelligent and distinguished officer in the Revolutionary War. In various campaigns from May, 1778, to Nov., 1781. Commanded in fifteen engagements with signal wisdom, courage and success.

On the 26th Sept., 1780, after a gallant defense of the ground first consecrated by the Declaration of American Independence he was wounded near Charlotte.

In 1814 he commanded the troops of N. C. in the expedition against the Creek Indians.

His life was a bright and illustrious pattern of domestic, social and public virtues.

Modest, amiable, upright and pious, he lived a noble ornament to his country, a faithful friend to the church and a rich blessing to his family and died with the hope of a glorious immortality.

General Graham having, according to the custom of the country attended "Tuesday of Court" (Nov. 10th), returned home from Lincolnton that afternoon. He was stricken with apoplexy the next day and died Thursday, November 12, 1836.

Mrs. Isabella Davidson Graham died January 15, 1808; aged 47 years.

She was the most beautiful of Major Davidson's handsome daughters. Her character corresponded in loveliness and goodness to her personal appearance; she was much beloved by all her acquaintance, and discharged well the duties of a Christian wife, mother, mistress, neighbor and friend; impressing her personality upon all with whom she associated.

"Her children arise up and call her blessed  
Her husband also, and he praiseth her."

8. CHILDREN AND GRAND-CHILDREN OF JOSEPH  
AND ISABELLA GRAHAM.

I. Polly, who died in 1801, at the age of thirteen years.

II. John Davidson, who succeeded him in the manufacture of iron at Vesuvius Furnace.

Married (1) Betsy Connor. Children:

1. Mary Ann, married Harvey Orr, Charlotte, N. C.
  2. Charles Connor, married Mary Mebane, Greensboro, N. C. Arkansas 1854. Memphis 1866.
  3. Eliza, married Col. John Sloan, Greensboro, N. C. Texas 1870.
  4. Malvina, married Col. John A. Young, Charlotte, N. C.
  5. Maj. Joseph Montrose, married Mary Washington, New Bern, N. C. Arkansas 1849. Died 1872.
  6. Dr. Wm. Henry, died unmarried in Arkansas, 1854.
  7. Martha, married P. K. Rounsaville, Lexington, N. C. Indiana 1853.
  8. James Franklin, died unmarried in California, 1851.
  9. Isabella, died in childhood.
  10. Dr. Alexander Hamilton, surgeon Texas troops, married Mary Mason, York County, S. C. Texas, 1857.
  11. Julia.
- Married (2) Jane Johnston, Lincoln County, N. C.
12. John, died in infancy.
  13. Robert Clay, married Sally Prim.
- Died 1846. Buried at Unity.



*James Graham*







MRS. SOPHIA G. WITHERSPOON.



III. Sophia, married Dr. Jno. Witherspoon, of South Carolina. Moved to Lexington, Ky.; afterwards to Greensboro, Ala. Children :

1. Eliza, married Judge Henry Goldthwaite, of Mobile, Ala.

2. John J., who died unmarried.

3. Jos. Graham, who died unmarried.

4. Dr. R. Sidney, who married Mrs. Mary (*nec* Torrance) Bratton, Mecklenburg, N. C.

5. Thomas F., who married Kate Hatch, Alabama. Louisville, Ky.

6. Wm. Alfred, who married Tarriffa Cocke, Virginia. Greensboro, Ala.

7. Mary S., who married Chas. Dickey, of Brown Bros. & Co., New York.

8. Ann Louisa, who married Dr. Wm. Anderson, Mobile, Ala.

Being the oldest daughter, she, at the death of her mother, had, when she was only seventeen years of age, to assume the cares of the family and the rearing of the younger children. She performed the duties with faithfulness, consideration and affection. She was regarded as a typical older sister and daughter and remembered with great love and pleasure by those to whom she had given her attention and affection.

Died 1866. Buried in Charlotte.

IV. James Graham.—Born 1793. He graduated at the University in 1814, read law with Chief Justice Ruffin and was admitted to practice in the County Courts in 1815, and to the Superior Courts in 1816.

He represented Rutherford County in the House of Commons 1823-4-8-9. He represented the Mountain District in the United States Congress from 1833 to 1843 and from 1845 to '47.

The following is an extract from his address to the voters in his district when he was a candidate for election in 1841.

This was after President Tyler had forsaken the Whig party which had elected him and to which Mr. Graham belonged.

The conduct of President Tyler was obstinate and arbitrary. He would not agree with Congress, and he could not agree with himself. He opposed but would not propose. He opposed the action of Congress, and still he had no plan himself; he wanted time to concoct some scheme that would be acceptable to himself; in that situation Congress adjourned at the extra session, leaving the President suspended in absurd abstractions. The abstraction school is a clever class of men who seem to imagine that a special providence has committed the Constitution to their peculiar keeping and construction. They are political Pharisees; they thank God they are not like other men, and I thank God that other men are not like them; for they can calmly see and look with indifference upon seventeen millions of people in deep distress by the mal-administration of the government and make not one single effort to relieve or comfort them, but sit still and survey the scene of suffering and disappointment while hundreds and thousands are dispirited and sick with hope deferred and broken promises until they are ready to exclaim:

Despair is poison to the heart,  
It rankles in a tender part;  
'Tis formed to flourish in decay,  
And chase the hope of life away.



*James Graham*



The people of North Carolina are suffering severely, and pay double taxes for the want of a uniform currency. We pay one tax to the government and another to brokers and shavers, because our currency is below par in New York, the place where our merchants purchase their goods. I believe the tax to the broker equals that to the government.

The following obituary appeared in the *National Intelligencer*, October 6, 1851 :

## DEATHS.

At his residence in Lincoln County, N. C., on the 25th ult., the Honorable James Graham, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

Mr. Graham was the second son of the late Joseph Graham, and the last surviving brother of the present Secretary of the Navy. He was educated at the University of his native State, and bred to the profession of the law, which he practiced successfully for several years. He was frequently a member of the Legislature of North Carolina, and was widely known to the country as one of her most faithful and devoted members in Congress for a period of twelve years. His social nature and courteous, frank and manly character attracted to him a large circle of friends among his associates in public life, and the visitors and residents of this metropolis; while his kindly sympathies and affections endeared him to those with whom he was more nearly connected.

He never married. Died 1851. Buried at Machpelah.

VII. Robert Montrose.—Died unmarried in 1822. Buried at Machpelah.

VIII. Alfred.—Emigrated to Tennessee to join his brothers, Joseph and George Franklin, but returned to North Carolina in 1834 to become partner with his brother, John D., in the iron works. Died, unmarried, in 1834. Buried at Machpelah.

V. Joseph moved to Memphis, Tennessee, in 1828, was the first Sheriff of Shelby County, married Sarah Kimbrough, of Tennessee. Children :

1. George C., married (1) Mrs. Record, of Mississippi. (2) Miss Perkins, of Tennessee. (3) Miss Daniel, of Mississippi. Died 1899.

2. Lydia, married W. C. Rutland, Little Rock, Ark. He was a member of Henderson's Scouts, Army of Tennessee, Confederate States Troops. Dead.

3. Albert K., married Miss Evalina Marshall, daughter of Dr. James Marshall, was a member of 1st Tennessee Cavalry, W. H. Jackson's Brigade of Forrest's Command from 1861 to the Surrender, and surrendered with General Forrest at Gainesville, Ala.

4. Joseph, married Mrs. Alston, of Tennessee; was a member of 1st Tennessee Cavalry; afterwards a Lieutenant in Fagan's, Arkansas Cavalry, Gen. Sterling Price's command; was in Confederate Army from 1861 to 1865; was a prisoner and paroled at the surrender.

5. Sophia, died in early womanhood.

Died in 1837. Buried in Memphis, Tenn.

VI. George Franklin.—Graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1815, and a few years afterwards at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia in medicine. In 1825 he married Martha A. Harris at Beattie's Ford, Mecklenburg County, N. C. He had settled prior to this at Memphis, Tennessee, and enjoyed a large practice in the city and in the adjacent country for thirty miles.

Doctor Graham died in 1827 of yellow fever, contracted from a professional visit to a sick person on a steamboat en route from New Orleans to St. Louis. This is believed to be the first case of yellow fever reported at Memphis. He is buried at Memphis, Tenn. A few years afterwards Hon. James Graham went to Tennessee and brought Mrs. Graham and her child to Vesuvius Furnace, where they resided with General Graham until Mrs. Graham's second marriage.

The party with a negro man as attendant made the trip on horse-back, each carrying the child "in turn."

Mrs. Graham was the only child of Charles Harris and Martha A. Eppes, formerly widow of Charles Conner. She afterwards married Dr. Stanhope Harris, of Cabarrus County, N. C.

James Graham was the guardian of Ann Eliza. Children:

Ann Eliza, who married Col. William Johnston, a grandson of James Johnston of Revolutionary note. He was a lawyer and prominent in the political history of the State for many years, and in Internal Improvements in their incipency. He was president of the road from Columbia to Charlotte; the first that was built to Charlotte. The road from Columbia to Augusta was constructed under his administration. Member of Secession Convention, 1861.

IX. Violet Wilson married Dr. Moses Winslow Alexander, a prominent physician of Mecklenburg County. He was a son of J. McKnitt Alexander. Children:

1. Dovey Adelaide Winslow, married Rev. H. B. Cunningham.

2. James Graham, died in youth.

3. Junius Montrose, died unmarried, 1855.

4. Isabella Louisa, married Dr. W. J. Hayes, Charlotte, N. C.

5. Hamilton LaF., 63d Regt. N. C. T., died unmarried.

6. Mary Sophia.

7. Emily Eugenia, died in youth.

8. Eliza Rocinda, died 1855.

9. Julia Susan, married Maj. T. McGehee Smith, Milton N. C., 45th Regt. N. C. T., who was killed near Richmond, May, 1864.

10. Wistar Winslow, died unmarried.

11. Capt. Sydenham B.; 42d Regt. N. C. T.; State Senator 1879, '83, '85, '87 and 1901. First advocate for road improvement in North Carolina. Member 52nd and 53rd Congresses (1891 to 1895). President of State Grange and of North Carolina Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union; a prominent advocate of advancement and improvement in agriculture. Married (1) Emma Nicholson, Halifax, N. C.; (2) Louise Perry, Louisburg, N. C.

12. Alice Leonora, married Dr. George W. Graham, Charlotte, N. C.

Mrs. Alexander died 1868. Buried at Hopewell, Mecklenburg County, N. C.





MRS. VIOLET G. ALEXANDER.







MRS. MARY G. MORRISON.

X. Mary, married Rev. Robert H. Morrison, D.D., of Cabarrus County, one of the most distinguished Presbyterian ministers of his time and section. Children :

1. Isabella, married Lieut. Gen. D. H. Hill.
  2. Harriet, married Jas. P. Irwin, Charlotte, N. C.
  3. Maj. Wm. W., Commissary; died unmarried, 1865.
  4. Sarah, died in childhood.
  5. Elizabeth, died in childhood.
  6. Mary Anna, married Lieut. Gen. T. J. ("Stonewall") Jackson.
  7. Eugenia, married Brig. Gen. Rufus Barringer.
  8. Susan W., married Major A. C. Avery, Judge of the Superior Court and Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court.
  9. Laura P., married Col. Jno. E. Brown, 42nd N. C. T.; Legislature 1872. Charlotte, N. C.
  10. Capt. Joseph Graham, A. D. C. Stonewall Jackson; Captain 57th N. C. T.; wounded at Drury's Bluff and Petersburg, 1864; Legislator 1884; married Jennie Davis, Salisbury, N. C.; Lincoln County, N. C.
  11. Dr. Robert H., Captain, A. D. C. General Barringer and General Hill; married Lucy Reid, Mt. Mourne, N. C. Shelby, N. C.
  12. Rev. Alfred James, Selma, Ala. Married Portia Atkinson, Virginia. Died 1876. Buried at Machpelah.
- Mrs. Morrison died 1864. Buried at Machpelah.

XI. William Alexander.—Born September 5, 1804. Graduated at the University 1824. Lawyer, member of the House of Commons for the “Borough” of Hillsborough 1833-4-5; for the county of Orange 1836-38-40; Speaker '38-40. United States Senator 1840-43. Governor 1845-49. Secretary of the Navy 1850-52; while Secretary suggested and organized the expedition to Japan under Commodore Perry, also the one under Lt. Herndon to explore the Amazon; two events whose results have been among the most important of the nineteenth century. Candidate of the Whig party for Vice-President 1852. State Senator 1854. In 1860 was supported for the nomination for President by the North Carolina and Georgia delegations and other delegates. Member North Carolina Convention 1861. State Senator 1862-3. Confederate States Senator 1863-5. State Senator 1866; unanimously elected from Orange County but not admitted. Elected United States Senator by an almost unanimous vote of the Legislature in 1866, but was denied admission. Trustee of the University for nearly forty years. Honorary member of the Historical Society of Wisconsin. Member of the Board of Trustees of the Peabody Fund. Selected by the State of Virginia as Arbitrator on disputed boundary line between Maryland and Virginia. Elected delegate to the Constitutional Convention 1875, but died before the Convention assembled. He was strikingly handsome in his personal appearance, diligent, thorough and faithful in the performance of every duty incident to the many positions which he filled; pure and spotless in his private life, a learned lawyer, a ripe scholar, a statesman of great ability and clear judgment. He is esteemed by many as the



W. A. Graham





greatest man produced by North Carolina. Died August 11, 1875, at Saratoga, N. Y., while attending a meeting of Maryland and Virginia Boundary Line Arbitrators. Buried at Hillsborough, N. C.

On June 8, 1836, he married Susannah Sarah, daughter of John Washington, New Bern, N. C. Children :

1. Dr. Joseph, Captain Battery C, 10th Regt. N. C. T. Married Elizabeth Hill, Hillsboro, N. C. Charlotte, N. C.

2. Maj. John Washington, 56th Regt. N. C. T. Wounded June, 1864, at Petersburg, and March, '65, at Hare's Hill. Lawyer, State Senator 1868-72, Constitutional Convention 1868, Trustee of the University. Married (1) Rebecca (*nee* Cameron) Anderson, Hillsboro; (2) Margaret Bailey, Tallahassee, Fla. Hillsborough, N. C.

3. Maj. William Alexander, Captain Co. K, 19th Regt. (2nd Cavalry). Wounded at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863. Major and Assistant Adjutant General of North Carolina 1863-5. Farmer. State Senator 1874 and '79; elected each time unanimously from his district, Lincoln and Catawba counties. Author. Historian. Married Julia Lane, Amelia, Va. Lincoln County, N. C.

4. Capt. James Augustus, Co. G, 27th Regt. N. C. T. Wounded at Bristow Station 1863, Spottsylvania C. H. 1864. Lawyer, State Senator, Trustee of the University, Pension Examiner. Married Elizabeth Webb, Hillsborough, N. C. Washington, D. C.

5. Capt. Robert Davidson, Co. D, 56th Regt. N. C. T. Wounded at Hare's Hill. Lawyer, Secretary of Civil Service Commission, Commissioner in Land Office in Department of Interior. Washington, D. C.

6. Dr. George Washington. Author. Married (1) Sallie Shaver, Atlanta, Ga.; (2) Alice L. Alexander, Charlotte, N. C. Charlotte, N. C.

7. Augustus Washington. Lawyer, State Senator, Judge of Superior Court, member of House of Representatives, Trustee of University, Secretary of Board of Arbitrators of Maryland and Virginia boundary line. Married Lucy A. Horner, Oxford, N. C. Oxford, N. C.

8. Susan Washington, married Walter Clark, Lt. Col. 70th Regt. (2nd Junior Reserves) N. C. T. Lawyer, Judge of the Superior Court, Justice and Chief Justice of Supreme Court, author, historian. Raleigh, N. C.

9. Alfred Octavius, died in infancy.

10. Eugene Berrien died when four years old, 1863.

XII. Isabella, who died in infancy

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## CONCLUSION OF PART I.

For the information of those who are harvesting the benefits of his services and for the admiration and emulation of his descendants, I have endeavored to compile the items of history of one who was among the most active characters in his State and country in winning the independence of America and in laying the foundation and shaping the policies upon which the government of his State has been erected. Having presented as far as able an account of his services, I have collected in Part II of this book his accounts of events during the Revolutionary War as he performed or witnessed them or heard accounts of them from participants.

I conclude with the following extract taken from an

obituary prepared by Rev. R. H. Morrison, D.D., and published in the *Charlotte Whig* in December, 1836 :

His intercourse with others was marked by great dignity of deportment, delicacy of feeling, cheerfulness of spirit and equability of temper. Men of learning and high standing have often expressed much gratification by his company, and surprise at the extent and accuracy of his knowledge. In the circle of private friendship his excellencies were strikingly displayed. He was far—very far—removed from all those feelings of selfishness, vanity, suspicion or envy which unfit men for the duties and joys of social life. His eye was always open to the virtues of his friends; his heart was always ready to reciprocate their kindness, to sympathize with their sorrows and overlook their infirmities. His hand, his time, his counsel and his influence were all at the command of those who shared his confidence and deserved his affection.

“A friend is worth all hazard we can run;  
Poor is the friendless master of a world;  
A world in purchase for a friend is gain.”

But there was another circle near to his heart in which he was still better prepared to shine, and in which true excellency displayed is a brighter and surer evidence of worth. Justice could not be done to his character without being known in the family circle. As a husband, a father and a master those alone who were the objects of his attachment, forbearance and tenderness could duly appreciate his conduct and demeanor.

His life was a bright pattern of those virtues which are essential to the purity and peace of society. He possessed a lofty and delicate sense of personal honor and virtuous feeling. His presence was always a rebuke to the arts and abominations of evil speaking, profanity and defamation. If he could not speak well of his fellow men, he was wise and firm enough to say nothing. He regarded the reputation of others as a sacred treasure, and would never stoop to meddle with the private history or detract from the good name of those around him. He felt that the sources of his enjoyment and the causes of his elevation were not to be found in the calamities of his fellow men, and hence his lips were closed to the tales of slander and his bosom a stranger to the wiles of calumny. Did all men act on the principle which governed him in this respect a

hideous train of evils which mar the purity and disturb the peace of society would cease to exist.

But Gen. Graham did not believe when he had served his country, his family and his friends his work on earth was finished. With an unwavering conviction of the truth and importance of religion, he professed to serve God and to seek for salvation by faith in Christ. For a long period of time he was a member of the Presbyterian church, and for ten or twelve years previous to his death was a Ruling Elder of Unity under the pastoral care of Rev. Mr. Adams. He cherished a most profound respect for the ordinances and duties of Christianity, and attended with deep interest and uniform punctuality upon the means of grace. He delighted much in reading the Word of God and in hearkening to the instructions of the ministers of the Gospel, for whom he always manifested the greatest regard. In selecting his library he proved how high an estimate he placed upon Christian instruction, and in his most unre-served intercourse with pious friends his deep and pervading concern for *true and undefiled religion* was apparent. No circumstances would deter him from manifesting the most decided contempt for the grovelling spirit of infidelity and irreligion.

By a life of temperance and regular exercise, with the blessing of God, he enjoyed remarkable health and vigor of constitution. On the 13th of October, 1836, he made the following minute in his day book: "This day I am seventy-seven years of age and in good health, *Dei Gratia.*"

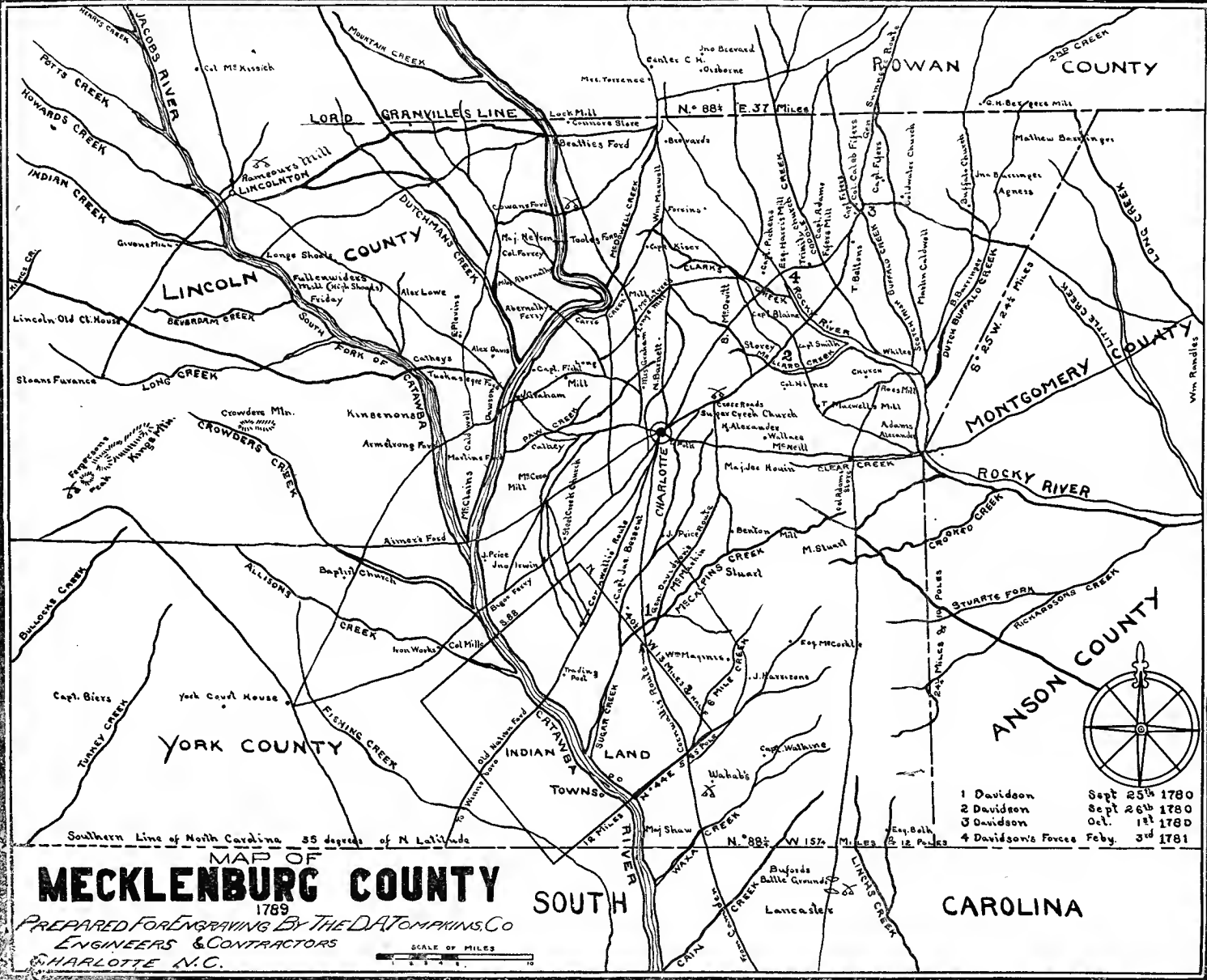
As the disease which terminated his life was apoplexy, its paralyzing stroke was sudden and unexpected. He rode from Lincoln-ton on the 10th of November, and on the evening of the 12th closed his eyes upon the cares and trials of a long, useful and honorable life.

"Hope looks beyond the bounds of time,  
When what we now deplore  
Shall rise in full immortal prime  
And bloom to fade no more."

PART II.

PAPERS CONCERNING NORTH CAROLINA  
REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY.





Original Map from which this was compiled bore this inscription:-

*"A plan of Mecklenburg and portion of  
 joining Counties  
 is laid down by a scale of five miles to an inch  
 January 16<sup>th</sup> 1789 By Wm Joseph Graham"*

## A MAP OF MECKLENBURG COUNTY.

1789.

This map was prepared by General Graham probably for the purpose of showing the territory of the County, in the discussion of its division or the formation of Cabarrus. The committee reported to the House of Commons of the Legislature that he exhibited a map on this occasion.

Upon it I have named the various routes of the military expeditions in 1780-'1.

It will be noticed that King's Mountain was then supposed to be in North Carolina.

Mecklenburg then embraced not only its present territory, but also all of Cabarrus and the greater part of Union.

W. A. GRAHAM.





## INTRODUCTION.

About 1820 Judge Archibald D. Murphey concluded to write the history of North Carolina. He corresponded with persons whom he thought could furnish material for this purpose. His intention seems to have been to write a history of the Revolutionary period and to correct mistakes or omissions concerning North Carolina troops. General Graham suggested to him to write a full history of the State. He says in a letter to General Graham, July 20, 1821, "Your letter to Colonel Connor first suggested to me the plan of work which I will execute. It is a work on the history, soil, climate, legislation, civil institutions, literature, etc., etc., of the State." He undertook this work, published a prospectus of the various headings under which it would be composed, and what each would contain. He appealed to the Legislature for aid in his work, collected much material, but died in 1829, before any publication was made in book form.

Bills were introduced in the Legislature to aid him in his work, but failed to be enacted. In 1825 an act was passed to allow him to use a lottery with drawings to the amount of fifteen thousand dollars, in the publication of his work, but he was never able to operate it.

Several articles which had been furnished him were published in the newspapers, among them the Battle of Ramsour's Mill, by General Graham, and King's Mountain, by General Lenoir. The following articles were furnished by General Graham for the history, and the letters passed between them. The location of most of

the other articles collected by Judge Murphey was not known after his death, and when at last ascertained it was found that they had been burned a short time previous by the then lady of the house in cleaning up the attic, she supposing them to be merely rubbish.

Judge Murphey graduated at the University in 1799, and was tutor for several years in that institution. He represented Orange County in the State Senate from 1812 to 1818, when he was elected Superior Court Judge, which position he resigned in 1820, and was afterwards Reporter to the Supreme Court. He was one of the earliest and most earnest advocates for public schools, which were introduced in 1840.

In some of the articles the General's object seems to have been to call attention to certain movements and cite historians from whom minute accounts could be obtained, with suggestions as to some corrections. In others he fully relates the occurrence. I call attention to the suggestion that Colonel Williams' men at the battle of King's Mountain, were North Carolinians, which I have annexed to the account of that battle. Also note on Ramsour's Mill and Cowan's Ford.

At the opening of the Olivia Raney Library, Raleigh, N. C., October, 1900, a speaker regretted that North Carolinians in writing State history generally do so with complaints of other writers on the same occurrences.

In military operations North Carolinians have generally served under commanders who were citizens of other States. These commanders have not been careful to see that due credit was given to the "Tar Heels," but, where they were concerned, reported actions in a

general way, and sometimes attributed to other troops the deeds of North Carolina soldiers. It required over thirty years to find out the North Carolina soldiers' position in the Confederate Army, and then it is given by the "enemy." The following articles show that to some extent at least the North Carolina Confederate inherited the lot of his Revolutionary ancestor. When the commanding officers of North Carolina troops report more accurately the accounts of their services the historian may alter his style in writing its history.



## CHAPTER I.

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1. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JUDGE MURPHEY AND GENERAL GRAHAM, 1820-'27.
  2. MISTAKES BY HISTORIANS AS TO NORTH CAROLINA SOLDIERS.
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The facts stated by General Graham are of great interest and of the very highest authority. The letters of Judge Murphey well illustrate his earnest and laborious, though unsuccessful efforts to rescue the history of our State from oblivion. His memorial is itself now part of our history.

Below are given: General Graham's chronology of Revolutionary events; his corrections touching the affairs at Hanging Rock; the three expeditions of the militia in 1775 and 1776; Judge Murphey's letters relating to his contemplated history.

### NO. 1. GENERAL GRAHAM TO JUDGE MURPHEY.

VESUVIUS FURNACE, No. 27, 1820.

DEAR SIR:—I will give you a kind of chronology according to my present views. From Ramsour's in three days after the battle Gen. Rutherford marched against Col. Bryan in the forks of Yadkin. Bryan heard of his coming, and on the 30th of June, crossed the Yadkin, marched rapidly and joined the British at Cheraw Hill. Rutherford pursued until below Abbott's Creek and returned to Salisbury. From there, in a few days marched with the men designated for a tour; to join Gen. Gates. When in the pursuit of Bryan at Salisbury he detached Col. Wm. L. Davidson with two hundred and fifty men down the west side of the Yadkin; at Colson's these troops attacked them. Col. Davidson and one other wounded.

The British advanced simultaneously on each side of the Catawba; Genl. Sumter invested with command of South Carolina's

refugees and North Carolina men; movements preceding battles of Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock, which took place the first and sixth of August, are well described by Lee, incidents only are omitted by him. On 16th of August, Gates' defeat; all the historians describe it better perhaps than could be done again. After Gates' defeat Sumter's on 18th of August.

Succeeding events about Charlotte; Camp at McAlpin's Creek. Gen. Sumner arrives—Davie's affair at Wahab's (Walkup) well described by Lee—British arrive at McAlpin's Creek 24th of Sept. Tarleton detached after Gen. Sumter to Bigger's Ferry, who has notice, crosses the river and escapes. 26th Sept. British advance. Tarleton joins two miles below Charlotte, rencounter in Charlotte and at the Cross Roads very imperfectly described; the British encampment and conduct while in Charlotte; on 3rd of Oct., send a foraging party four hundred and fifty infantry, sixty cavalry, forty wagons on the road to Beattie's Ford, at McIntire's farm, are attacked by Capt. Thompson, Geo. Graham, Robt. Robeson, Esq., fourteen in all, whose names I have. Killed a Captain and seven men, wounded twelve, the party returned to Charlotte with less than two loads of forage. 7th Oct. Ferguson's defeat; Dr. Wm. McLean and Capt. Samuel Caldwell, who were there, say it is not well represented in any of the histories. (I was then in the hospital.) They propose giving a description, etc. The British hearing of Ferguson's disaster, leave Charlotte on 10th of Oct.; incidents on their return march, by way of old Nation Ford; arrive at Winsboro about 1st of Nov. Camp at Six Mile Creek—arrival at the south of Gen. Greene and Morgan—Militia management until 17th Jan., '81. Tarleton defeated—British advance in pursuit of Morgan by way of Ramsour's; 30th Jan. Morgan passes Sherill's Ford; same day Greene, Davidson and Col. Washington held council at Beatie's Ford—next day 1st of Feb., battle at Cowan's and Beatie's Ford and at Torrence's, not well described. 3rd Feb., the British advance; attack the militia in Morgan's rear at night near Trading Ford on the Yadkin. On 7th of Feb. Graham's troop of cavalry killed and took seven prisoners of the British on their march between Shallow Ford and Salem—11th Gen. Andrew Pickens of South Carolina, invested with command of all the forces collected in rear of the British, marched by Guilford on to Stony Creek, ten or fifteen miles from Hillsboro; detached twenty of Graham's cavalry, some of Simmon's riflemen, forty in the whole, who marched in the night, at light in the morning attacked a picquet

at Hart's mill, one and a half miles from Hillsboro, killed and took the whole twenty-five. Lost none, though closely pursued by Tarleton's whole corps—brought prisoners all safe in; Monday was joined by Lee's legion—succeeding transactions, of the affair of Pyle's at Holt's, well described, but unaccountably, though Lee was present, he makes no mention of the affair at Clapp's mill five or six hundred aside; it was a pretty stiff business. The British had a Captain and sixteen killed—we had nine. Out of my command two killed,—Ford (of Charlotte) and Johnson; Robert Harris, Esq., Samuel Martin, and Jack Barnett, wounded; John Stinson (nigh Charlotte) and Joe Mitchell, prisoners; seven in the whole.

Yours, etc.,

JOS. GRAHAM.

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NO. 2. JUDGE MURPHEY TO GENERAL GRAHAM.

HAW RIVER ORANGE COUNTY, January, 1821.

Dear General:—Col. Connor delivered to me in Raleigh, your account of the battle at Ramsour's, which I have read with much interest, for it was the first time I had any correct idea of that affair. I have the account in my possession, and will shortly give it to the public. Your letter to Colonel Connor I have copied and now enclose the original to his care.

Twelve months ago, I suggested to a few friends the propriety of making an effort to rescue from oblivion the incidents of the Revolutionary War which occurred in this State. The leading events only are recorded. A detail of inferior events in character is wanted not only to gratify curiosity, but to make out a portion of our history, which is likely to be soon lost. It is due to the men engaged in them. It is due to the character of the State, to have collected and embodied, all the events of the Revolutionary War, which occurred in this State and in the upper parts of South Carolina. I have mentioned the subject to Col. Polk, who very readily promised his aid; and he has contributed very liberally, and promised to contribute more upon his return from Tennessee. I had intended long since, to address you on the subject, but a succession of severe afflictions and the pressure of a variety of business, suspended my attention to the subject, until lately. I think with you, that the union of a few men will do much in a little time towards collecting materials for a regular and minute detail of all such events as are worthy of being recorded. In all the events of life, great things depend so much upon a complication of small ones



that it is desirable to get a history of everything that in its bearing could any how contribute to the principal events. Anecdotes, likewise, connected, with the thread of the narrative, are useful and amusing. They show the character of the times, and of the principal actors. After, therefore, drawing up your narrative, give in notes, all the anecdotes that you have stored up in your memory. Speak of the character of particular men, and give biographical notices of them; point out the motives which probably influenced them in taking sides. Describe the manner in which bodies of militia were from time to time hastily raised; their equipments, arms, &c.

We have no regular account of the military police of the State at that period. Describe the gradation of military authority; who commissioned the officers; who called them out upon emergency; by what authority were the militia called out; how long were they bound to serve; who supplied their arms and accoutrements, &c. Give a regular account of the militia system at that period.

Give an account of Gen. Rutherford. What section of the State did his command embrace? What was his education, his pursuits in life? etc. Say all you know of his expedition against the Cherokees.

I beg you to fill up in detail the out-line contained in your letter, and add to it as much more as you can.

The general Tory War seems divisible into distinct periods, and distinct districts of country. Trace the origin of the Tories; their first assemblages; their leaders and their opponents; get the history of the battle of King's Mountain, with the principal circumstances leading to, and following it; the history of Col. Cleveland's operations against the Tories, and of our distinguished Whigs in the west; get the history of Col. Bryan's operations; his character, place of residence, and ultimate fate; and the principal anecdotes connected with his marauding adventures.

Add to your account of the battle of Ramsour's such fact and anecdotes of the principal actors on each side as you may be able to collect.

Collect all the information you can of Fanning's adventures, and of the Tory War on the Cape Fear; also, of the retreat of Cornwallis (which I believe is not mentioned in your memorandum).

Write a detailed account of Gen. Davie's transactions. I wish to know something of his family, his education, his entrance into the army, and his exploits as a soldier.

This letter is confined to particulars. Your memorandum is the outline of the general narrative. Write at length, and be not afraid of saying too much.

In addition to the events of the Revolutionary War I beg you to write out a history of the Regulation under Gov. Tryon. We have nearly lost all this part of our history; say, therefore, everything you can learn upon the subject.

That period of our civil history immediately following the close of the Revolutionary War is very interesting. Devote one chapter, at least, to that.

I shall be glad to keep up a correspondence with you, and I will from time to time submit to your perusal, such narratives as I may collect. I feel some zeal upon the subject, for a large portion of our history now lives only in the recollection of a few survivors of the Revolution. We must soon embody it, or it will be entirely lost. Write to me at Haw River post-office. My best respects to your son James.

Yours very truly,

A. D. MURPHEY.

Gen. Jos. Graham.

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No. 3. GENERAL GRAHAM TO JUDGE MURPHEY.

VESUVIUS FURNACE, July 14, 1821.

Dear Sir:—About the time of the last Superior Court in Salisbury, I wrote you, and at the same time forwarded several sheets in a separate package containing the narrative of transactions in the Revolutionary War, from the time of the battle of Ramsour's (20th of June, 1780) until Gates' defeat, 16th of Aug., which I am in hopes you have received. I have continued my narrative from the battle of Hanging Rock, 6th of Aug., 1780, to the battle of Guilford, 15th March, 1781. It contains twenty sheets (omitting the battles well described by others), chiefly relative to the militia in this section of the State; perhaps it goes too much into detail, though on reading it to some who were then in service, they thought otherwise, and suggested several things omitted, they wished to be noticed.

If I had time to make another draft I would improve it, but my avocations will not admit; the facts stated, may be relied on.

Shortly after the battle of Guilford, North Carolina ceased to be the seat of war, except in the southwest, towards Fayetteville and

Wilmington, where Maj. Craig commanded the British and the Tories ruled as high as Drowning Creek.

After Governor Burke was captured, about the middle of September, 1781, an expedition was fitted out from the west, under Gen. Rutherford. A sheet or two will contain all I have to communicate from March until September. From that period until the British evacuated Wilmington, I can give the whole details, as it was the last campaign I served, in that war. My object is to state nothing but what I have a personal knowledge of.

Before I was old enough to enter service there were three campaigns by the militia in the west, viz:

1. Against the Cherokee Indians under command of Gen. Rutherford in the Fall of the year 1776.

2. Against the Tories or Schovillites usually called the snow campaign on account of a heavy snow which fell while they were out. This expedition was made in the month of December, 1775. Col. Martin had two companies of regulars—one from the first regiment under Capt. Geo. Davidson, and the other under John Armstrong of the second regiment. Exclusive of these, there was about two hundred men from Rowan County, under Col. Rutherford, three hundred from Mecklenburg under Col. Polk, and one hundred from Tryon under Col. Neal. This body joined Gen. Richardson of South Carolina, and Col. Thomson of the third South Carolina regiment, at Saluda River, about the 16th December, when the Tories broke up the siege of Ninety-six, and returned to Saluda River; on the 22nd, they were surprised and four hundred taken prisoners. They were commanded by Paris, Cunningham and Fletcher.

3. A large body of militia marched to Fayetteville about the time or just after the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, with Gen. Caswell, in 1776. Col. Polk served in the second, and was wounded. Gen. Geo. Graham in the first and third.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your most obedient,

A. D. Murphey, Esq., Atto., &c.

J. GRAHAM.

NO. 4. JUDGE MURPHEY TO GENERAL GRAHAM.

HAW RIVER, July 20, 1821.

Dear General:—On yesterday I received your letter of the 14th inst. I must beg your pardon for not before acknowledging the re-

ceipt of the package directed to me at Salisbury. A continued series of affliction in my family, added to a great pressure of business, had withdrawn my mind until lately from the subject of your communications. They now engage my attention almost exclusively, and will continue to do so, for eight or ten days. I entreat you to continue your narrative, and give to it all the detail your memory will enable you to give; and notwithstanding you have filled twenty sheets, fill twenty more. I am in correspondence with several gentlemen on these subjects, as well as other parts of the history of North Carolina; but from none have I received communications so circumstantial, connected, and interesting as from you. I wish you to progress through the Revolutionary War, and I will submit to you heads for further narrative, embracing the prominent points of our history since 1783.

Your letter to Col. Connor, first suggested to me the plan of a work, which I will execute if I live. It is a work on the history, soil, climate, legislation, civil institutions, literature, &c., of this State. Soon after reading your letter, I turned my attention to the subject, in the few hours which I could snatch from business, and I was surprised to find what abundant materials could, with care and diligence, be collected; materials which, if well disposed, would furnish matter for one of the most interesting works that has been published in this country. We want such a work. We neither know ourselves, nor are we known to others. Such a work well executed, would add very much to our standing in the union, and make our State respectable in our own eyes. Amidst the cares and anxieties which surround me, I cannot cherish a hope, that I could do more than merely guide the labors of some man who would take up the work after me and prosecute it to perfection. I love North Carolina, and love her the more, because so much injustice had been done to her. We want pride. We want independence. We want magnanimity. Knowing nothing of ourselves, we have nothing in our history to which we can turn with feelings of conscious pride. We know nothing of our State, and care nothing about it.

It adds to one's mortification on this subject, that the printers of this State are so little minded, that one will not copy from another any article of public interest, which is communicated. If papers were sent for publication to New York, they would be copied from the New York papers in all the papers of this State; yet if sent to Raleigh, Hillsboro, Salisbury, &c., they will be found in

only that paper to which they are sent. The editors at Fayetteville form an honorable exception. They search out and give place to everything they can find respecting North Carolina—a man can't write for every paper, and no one paper has a general circulation—much more would be written, if all the papers would give it publicity, because more information would be thereby distributed through the community. We want some great stimulus to put us all in motion, and induce us to wave little jealousies and combine in one general march in one great purpose.

The events of the years 1780 and 1781 will fill a large octavo volume, and I will exert myself to complete it during the ensuing winter. You have entered upon the subject with more zeal than any other man, and I beg a continuance of your labors. Extract from the work, as first written, without corrections, will be published in the (Hillsboro) *Recorder*. I directed this paper to be sent to you, and I am sorry the account of the battle at Ramsour's has not reached you. I will get a paper and send it to you. Have you received the papers containing the remarks "on the history of North Carolina"? This was the first published in January last. Have you received the account "of the first Revolutionary movements?" The printer made a mistake and said, "in the United States." instead of "in this State." This was in March.

I will publish another paper shortly. \* \* \* It would give me great pleasure to see you, and I hope you will come to Salisbury. In the mean time prevail on your brother to lend his aid to the work, and draw up an account of the expeditions, in which he took part, and from which you were absent. I hope Providence will spare your life "till something can be done for the honor and glory of North Carolina."

Yours truly,

A. D. MURPHEY.

Gen. Jos. Graham.

Request your brother to give a minute detail of Rutherford's campaign against the Cherokees, in 1776. The number of troops; the place of rendezvous; the causes of the war with the Cherokees; the march of Rutherford; the preparations of the Cherokees; their chiefs' names, and characters; their place of abode; operations of the army; force of the Cherokees; route of the army over the mountain; Cherokee towns taken and burnt; anecdotes of the campaign; the treaty; the commissioners, both on the part of the Indians and the whites for making the treaty; miscellaneous particulars; return of the troops; their being disbanded; where and

when; how paid and how much, &c.; also, similar account of the campaign under Caswell in 1776-'77. Request him to go into every detail.

A. D. M.

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No. 5. JUDGE MURPHEY TO GENERAL GRAHAM.

HILLSBORO, No. 27, 1822.

Dear Sir:—I received on yesterday your kind letter of the 10th Oct. last. It had lain in the Post Office here for some time. I returned from Tennessee on Friday last, and on Monday came to this place to attend our Courts.

I shall in a few weeks resume the work which I have at heart—compiling the History of North Carolina. I have collected a considerable mass of materials for several periods of this history, and in doing this have been kindly aided by a few of the officers and soldiers of the North Carolina line, but by none so liberally as yourself. I am glad, you are disposed to aid me still more, and beg you to commence your work as soon as your convenience will admit. Col. Polk of Raleigh, is engaged in such a work, and to refresh his memory, I submitted to him before I went to Tennessee, and left him until my return, your manuscripts. Maj. Donoho, of Caswell, wishes to read them, and I have promised him to go to his house and spend a week or ten days with him and get all the information his memory can supply.

The work which I wish to publish, it is my ambition to prepare in a style worthy of its subject; it will embrace views of the climate, soil, geology, mineralogy, moral and political character, state of society, of literature, &c., of N. C. Time will be required to prepare such a work, but if a few others felt the same zeal that you feel, and were as much disposed to lend their aid, the work would progress fast.

It will give me great pleasure to hear from you frequently. Direct your letters to Haw River Post Office, Orange County.

With great regard,

I am, dear sir,

Your obedient servant,

A. D. MURPHEY.

Gen. Jos. Graham.

## 2. MISTAKES BY HISTORIANS AS TO NORTH CAROLINA SOLDIERS.

The subjoined letter to the late Judge Murphey is a correction of various misstatements which have found a place in history in relation to events which occurred within our borders during the memorable invasions of Lord Cornwallis in 1780-'81.

The fact that the troops which gained so much distinction, under the command of General Pickens, were from North Carolina, and mainly from Mecklenburg and the adjoining counties, had until very recently, like the Mecklenburg Declaration, escaped the attention of our best informed writers. For the preservation of this and other interesting events in our Revolutionary history we are indebted entirely to the careful pen of General Graham.

VESUVIUS FURNACE, 20th Dec., 1827.

DEAR SIR:—Some time past, I forwarded you certain sketches relative to occurrences in the Revolutionary War in the Western part of North Carolina. I have since perused Johnson's History, of the life of Gen. Greene, and strictures on it by Lee, Jr., and would beg leave to correct some errors into which they have fallen.

1. It is stated, not only by these Historians, but by most others, that after Lord Cornwallis arrived in Charlotte, he attempted marching, to Salisbury. Tarleton's legion, and a battalion of infantry, after they had dislodged Col. Davie's command in the village, pursued six or seven miles, to Sassafras fields (where I was wounded), and returned the same evening. After this, no part of the British army went two miles on the Salisbury road, until they retreated from Charlotte, upon hearing of the disaster at King's Mountain.\*

2. It is stated, by the historians generally, that about and on, the first of February, 1781, the Catawba River was swollen and

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\* Revolutionary History North Carolina 168.

that this was the reason why Lord Cornwallis did not pursue Gen. Morgan more closely. The statement is erroneous. During the three days immediately preceding the 1st of February, my command of cavalry or portions of it, crossed the river at different fords; and it was not flusher of water than is usual at that season of the year, until the rain, which fell, on the evening of the first of February.† This did occasion a rise in the Yadkin, which intercepted the British after Greene's army had passed, on the third of February.

3. Much is stated, and contradictory accounts are given, as to the part Gen. Pickens of South Carolina acted, in the campaign. The facts are these: After the retreat from Cowan's Ford, on the 1st of February, Gen. Pickens, with five or six South Carolina refugees, was in the route of our troops (North Carolina Militia) on the same day, by Tarleton's Cavalry at Torrence Tavern, six miles eastward of the river. Gen. Davidson, the commander of this force had fallen, and there were doubts and disputes among the field officers, as to who should succeed him. In this condition of affairs, while my cavalry were beyond the Shallow Ford of the Yadkin, hanging on the rear of the enemy, it was mutually agreed by the field officers to invest Gen. Pickens with the command of Davidson's troops,‡ amounting to six or seven hundred men. This was about the 11th of February, and the South Carolina refugees might then amount to twenty or thirty men. James Jackson, of the Georgia line, a Lieutenant, was appointed Brigade Major. He has since been a member of Congress and Governor of that State. After this organization, the Brigade proceeded, crossing the Shallow Ford of the Yadkin, through Salem, to Guilford Court House. Here intelligence was received of the movements of the enemy to Hillsboro and we took that direction, more condensed and cautious than before. Hitherto, the march had been regulated by detachments for the convenience of procuring subsistence.

Arrived at a mill, on Back or Stony Creek, some twelve or fifteen miles from Hillsboro, in the evening of the 17th of Feb., shortly after we had encamped the Brigade Major gave orders that Capt. Graham should furnish twenty dragoons, and Capt. Simmons, of Rowan, a like number of riflemen. As soon as these officers reported their quotas in readiness, Gen. Pickens himself came and

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† Revolutionary History North Carolina 162. See also, Lee's Mem. and Losing for the error, here corrected.

‡ Revolutionary History North Carolina 188, 189.



gave these two officers orders, as follows, viz.: "YOU will proceed down the road towards Hillsboro with the greatest caution and circumspection. If you find any detachment of the enemy out, inferior to your own, attack them. If you discover a larger party beyond supporting distance from their main army, and you can keep yourself concealed, give me notice, and I will come or send an additional force to assist you. But if you ascertain you are discovered by a larger party of the enemy return immediately. In any event, return early in the morning; for they will then hear of you from the inhabitants of the country. If I move from this place you will find my trail up the west side of this creek and may join me by ten o'clock to-morrow." There were four or five volunteers who went with the party besides those ordered; but none of them were present when the orders were given. Among others I recollect Maj. Micajah Lewis, (a continental officer who was killed a few days afterwards at Dickey's,) and his brother Joel. But though of superior rank, neither Maj. Lewis nor any other, assumed any command over the detachment, or the officers who had received the General's orders. The party set out between sunset and dark. After proceeding several miles on the Hillsboro road, and when it was fully dark, met Robert Fawcett (usually called, as I understood, mad Bob), and another person, whose name is not remembered. They were direct from Hillsboro, and gave us the first information of a picket at Hart's mill, supposed to be about thirty in number. We determined to attack them at light in the morning. Gen. Pickens certainly knew nothing of this picket being at the mill when he detached us, although it is otherwise stated by Johnson. Fawcett at first thought we were a party of the enemy. We compelled him to be our pilot. If he is yet living, I would beg leave to refer you to him for subsequent events. In the morning, when we approached the picket, their sentry fired; and a sergeant and file of men came immediately to his support. Simons and his riflemen dismounting and tying their horses, the sergeant and party fired in the direction of the noise, for they could not see us. Maj. Lewis, myself and six others crossed into the road leading towards Mebane's and charged down this road after the sergeant and party, who ran, until we came within sight of the picket. Maj. Lewis then suggested to me the advantage the riflemen might have, by passing to the right, under cover of the hill, until they should be masked by some out buildings (I think a stable and smithshop). We instantly returned and gave Capt.

Simmons his instructions, and the cavalry moved off to the left, through an old field, above where buildings have since been erected, in order to attract the attention and fire of the enemy, until the riflemen should gain their destined position. The plan succeeded as we expected. Owing to the great distance, the cavalry sustained no damage from the enemy's fire; and as soon as the riflemen, at the distance of only fifty or sixty yards, in their concealed position, had discharged their pieces at the picket, the cavalry charged, and the whole, consisting of twenty-seven men, were instantly killed or taken.

Now, Johnson states, that this party was under the command of Col. Hugh M'Call, of South Carolina, and was of those who had been with him at the Cowpens. Some two or three volunteers were along besides the Lewises as above mentioned. If Col. M'Call was one of them, it is not remembered by me and others who were present, and of whom I have made inquiry, since the appearance of this statement. But if he was present, certain I am he had no part, either in planning, or in the execution of the capture of the picket referred to. Nor did we consult respecting it with any other person, except Maj. Lewis\* (who was a real soldier). His counsels were deferred to by us, knowing, as we did, his past service and experience. But Capt. Simmons and myself gave the orders, and felt the whole responsibility. If M'Call was along, he was no more than a spectator. Several, yet living, can vouch for this. When the Brigade was organized west of the Yadkin, no officers from the south were recognized but Gen. Pickens and Maj. Jackson. For we had over our proportion of field officers from North Carolina, and did not need them. When our party and prisoners arrived in camp, the brigade immediately moved nearly a North course ten or twelve miles, and halted for forage, about mid-afternoon, at a farm with high fences, having left a strong guard in the rear. In half an hour, there was an alarm by a man from the guard, who reported "Tarleton was coming." It being too late to retreat, a disposition was made for battle by lining the fences with men, and making gaps at suitable places for cavalry to move as circumstances might require. By the time these arrangements were made a part of the rear guard and Col. Lee's legion moved in sight. Lee had come upon our trail a few miles

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\*Maj. Lewis was of Surry County, and a near connexion of the late Governor Jesse Franklin, who was a captain in this campaign. His grave, though neglected, is still recognized on Dickey's plantation in Alamance.

back, and we were most agreeably disappointed in greeting him instead of Tarleton.

I am confident that this was the first interview between Lee and Pickens, during the campaign, and my impression always has been, that previous to this time neither Gen. Greene nor Col. Lee knew anything about where Pickens was, or what was his force; nor did Gen. Pickens know that any part of Greene's command had re-crossed the Dan.

4. As I anticipated in the introduction to the sketches I furnished you, the historians of that War have greatly failed to do justice to the troops of North Carolina. For example, everything that was done by Gen. Sumter's force at Hanging Rock, Rocky Mount, &c., while he commanded North Carolinians in 1780, and by that of Pickens, while he commanded Davidson's Brigade in 1781 as above related, is placed to the credit of South Carolina from the circumstances of the two Generals commanding. Judge Johnson even states that at the battle of Cowpens, Maj. Jo. McDowell and his command from Burke County in this State were from South Carolina.

5. Col. Lee having written his Memoirs upwards of thirty years, after the transactions he relates, has omitted to mention many things, and of others he must have forgotten the circumstances; though upon the whole, he is more correct as far as I had a personal knowledge, than any other historian I have read. You may recollect that in his memoirs he passes unnoticed the skirmish at Clapps Mill, although he had command of the party engaged. Col. Otho Williams calls it "the skirmish on the Alamance," and says we had but three killed. On the day after the action, Pickens and Lee detached me with a party to the battle ground, and I got the inhabitants to bury eight of our men (all militia, and two of my own company). I beg leave to refer you to what I have written before on this subject.

6. Johnson's History is the only one I have seen, which notices the fact that, on the second night after the affair at Clapp's Mill, on Alamance, a detachment of British cavalry fell in with a party of Tories on their march to join the British, and that mistaking each other for adversaries, a number of the Tories were killed or wounded, before the mistake was discovered. But he appears to know nothing of our party teasing the British in the afternoon: and at night charging and dispersing their patrol, and capturing its commander, and that these were the reasons why a large body

of horse were dispatched up the Salisbury road, which met the Tories and occasioned the mishap he mentions. This you will find in the Sketches.

7. Lee states that at Pyle's defeat\* the action was commenced by the firing of the Tories on the Militia, in his rear. Whereas, the fact was that I riding in front of the Militia dragoons, near to Capt. Eggleston who brought up Lee's rear, at the distance of forty or fifty yards, pointed out to him, the strip of red cloth on the hats of Pyle's men, as the mark of Tories. Eggleston appeared to doubt this, until he came nearly opposite to the end of their line, when riding up to the man on their left, who appeared as an officer, he inquired, "Who do you belong to?" The answer was promptly given, "To King George," upon which Eggleston struck him on the head with his sword. Our dragoons well knew the red cloth on the hats to be the badge of Tories, but being under the immediate command of Lee, they had waited for orders. But seeing the example set by this officer, without waiting for further commands, they rushed upon them like a torrent. Lee's men, next to the rear, discovering this, reined in their horses to the right upon the Tory line, and in less than one minute the engagement was general. Col. Lee being in front, and at the other end of the line, say forty poles, from where the action commenced, might have believed the Tories first attacked us. If, however, he had inquired of Capt. Eggleston, he could have informed him otherwise.

As to other events, of which I have a personal knowledge there are misrepresentations, but it is not convenient for me to point out of all them.

I am, sir, very respectfully,  
Your most obedient,

J. GRAHAM.

The Hon. A. D. Murphey.

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\*Revolutionary History North Carolina 435 and 190.

## CHAPTER II.

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1. HISTORICAL NOTICE OF REVOLUTIONARY EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA.
  2. BATTLE OF RAMSOUR'S MILL.
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1. HISTORICAL NOTICES OF EVENTS IN REVOLUTIONARY WAR IN NORTH CAROLINA.

In the histories of the Revolutionary War, by Marshall, Ramsay and Lee, the details given of transactions in this section of the country are frequently inaccurate, and many things which had a bearing on the general result are entirely omitted. The two former had not the means of correct information, and Lee did not join the Southern army with his legion until in the month of February, 1781, after which his narrative may generally be relied on.

It may be remembered that there was a marked difference in the manner of conducting the Revolutionary and the late war between us and Great Britain. In the latter the commandant of a party sent an official report in writing to his superior or to the Secretary of the War Department, of every trivial combat with the enemy. In the former, of all the battles fought in the South there were not more than three or four official reports ever published. The historians had to collect some of their information from common fame and other precarious sources. The truth is, that many of the officers of that time were better at fighting than writing, and could make better marks with their swords

than with their pens. Their object did not appear so much to have their names puffed in the columns of a newspaper as to destroy their enemy or drive him from their country and establish its independence.

The histories of Ramsay and Lee, which are the most in detail of the transactions in the South, are calculated to make an erroneous impression in reciting the operations under the command of General Sumter in the months of July and August, 1780, and of General Pickens in the months of February and March, 1781. From the number of the field officers from South Carolina under their command, the reader would believe that in the ranks of the former the principal force consisted of the militia from South Carolina; whereas, the fact was that in the well-fought battles of Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock the North Carolinians, under the commands of Colonels Irwin and Huggins and Major Davie, constituted the greater part of Sumter's command, and the field officers referred to had not sometimes each a dozen men with them. In the following February, when Gen. Andrew Pickens was vested with the command of the troops, 600 or 700 in number assembled in the rear of Lord Cornwallis on his march to Dan River; there were not more than forty of the South Carolina Militia in his ranks, and his men were chiefly from between the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers, from the then counties of Mecklenburg and Rowan, from which Iredell and Cabarrus have since been separated.

It may further be remembered that the brigade of State troops raised by the State of South Carolina in the spring of 1781, when each man furnished his own horse and military equipments, the regiments com-

manded by Colonels Polk, Hampton and Middleton were mostly raised in the counties aforesaid.

It is admitted that some of both officers and soldiers of the Militia of South Carolina were as brave and enterprising as ever went to a field of battle, but those well-affected to the cause of independence were but few in number. The most of the lower districts (except Marion's Brigade) were endeavoring to save their property either by moving to North Carolina or Virginia, or the greater number by taking protection from the enemy. From the conduct of the few before alluded to Ramsay's History gives character to the whole militia of the State who were not disaffected, when it is well known a great majority of them saw little military service. The counties of Mecklenburg and Rowan not only furnished the greater part of the troops commanded by General Sumter, but they were in all cases his place of retirement when menaced by a superior force of the enemy, and from whence he mostly organized and set out on his several expeditions.

The writer finding those things unfairly represented has undertaken in his plain way to present a more correct account of several transactions than has heretofore been given, and to take notice of some which have been entirely omitted, which in his opinion are worthy of being preserved.

For the truth of the facts he states he appeals to those who were present on the several occasions related, of whom it is believed more than a hundred are living.\* Some of the details may appear minute and trivial, but

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\* Written 1820-'21.

not so to those who were present, and it is expected the present generation will read with some interest the part their fathers and relations acted in those times, more especially when they have a personal knowledge of the very spot where each transaction took place.

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## 2. BATTLE AT RAMSOUR'S MILL.

FOUGHT ON THE 20TH JUNE, 1780.

The unsuccessful attempt made by General Lincoln to take Savannah, and the subsequent capture of the army under his command at Charleston, inspired the Royalists with hope, and induced Sir Henry Clinton to regard the States of Georgia and South Carolina as re-annexed to the Crown. The South was left destitute of any regular military force to support the cause of the Revolution. There were no regular troops south of Pennsylvania to oppose the British or keep the Tories in awe, and within a few weeks after the surrender of Charleston detachments of British troops occupied the principal posts of Georgia and South Carolina. Lieutenant-Colonel Broom marched up the Savannah River and occupied Augusta; Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour took possession of Ninety-six, on the Wateree, and Lord Cornwallis pushed forward to Camden. The object of this last movement was three-fold: First, to intercept the retreat of Colonel Buford, who had been hastening with a few Continental troops to the relief of General Lincoln at Charleston; second, to open an easy communication with the Scottish settlements on the Pee Dee, Drowning Creek and Cape Fear; and third, to



keep in check the Whigs of the Waxhaw settlement on the Catawba and of the southwestern counties of North Carolina. The effect which these movements was calculated to produce upon the public mind was increased by the defeat of Colonel Buford and the slaughter of his men. The States of South Carolina and Georgia yielded submission to the royal authority, and the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Clinton, embarked with the main army for New York, leaving only four thousand troops for the Southern service. The command devolved on Lord Cornwallis, who immediately repaired to Charleston to establish such commercial regulations as the new state of things required, and to arrange the civil administration of the State, leaving Lord Rawdon in command at Camden. North Carolina had not yet been invaded, and the hopes of the Revolution in the South seemed to rest on the efforts which that State should make.

Charleston surrendered on the 12th of May, 1780. On the 29th of that month Tarleton defeated Colonel Buford in the Waxhaw settlement, forty miles south of Charlotte, in North Carolina. Brigadier-General Rutherford ordered out the militia *en masse*, and by the 3d of June nearly nine hundred men assembled near Charlotte. On that day intelligence was received that Tarleton was on his return to Camden, and on the next day the militia, after being harangued by the Rev. Dr. M'Whorter, president of the college at Charlotte, were dismissed by General Rutherford, with orders to have their arms in good repair and be in readiness for another call. Major Davie having recovered from the wounds received by him at Stono, again took the field,

and part of his cavalry were ordered to reconnoitre between Charlotte and Camden.

On the 8th of June General Rutherford was informed of the advance of part of the troops under Lord Rawdon to Waxhaw,\* thirty miles south of Charlotte, and issued orders for the militia to rendezvous on the 10th at Reese's plantation, eighteen miles northeast of Charlotte. The militia, to the number of eight hundred, promptly assembled, and on the 12th, having heard that Lord Rawdon had retired to the Hanging Rock, General Rutherford advanced ten miles to Mallard's Creek. On the 14th the troops under his command were organized. The cavalry, sixty-five in number, under Major Davie, were equipped as dragoons, and formed into two troops under Captains Simmons and Martin. A battalion of one hundred light infantry was placed under the command of Col. William L. Davidson,† a regular officer, who could not join his regiment in Charleston after that place was invested, and now joined the militia. Five hundred remained under the immediate command of General Rutherford. In the evening of the 14th he received intelligence that the Tories were embodying in arms beyond the Catawba River, in Tryon County,‡ about forty miles to the northwest of his then position. He issued orders to Col. Francis Locke, of

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\* The day after Lord Rawdon reached Waxhaw, he with a life guard of twenty cavalry, visited the Catawba Indian towns, six or eight miles distant from his encampment? These towns are situate above the mouth of Twelve Mile Creek, on the east bank of the Catawba River. The warriors, headed by their General New River had left their towns on the preceding evening to join the troops under General Rutherford. Curiosity alone seemed to have induced Lord Rawdon to visit the towns; but his approach frightened the Indians, who fled from their houses. His Lordship discovered two white men and four or five Indians, armed, moving briskly down the bank of the river, and thinking it to be a movement to intercept his return, he hastened at full gallop to his encampment.

† Afterwards Brigadier General Davidson, who fell in the action at Cowan's Ford, on the Catawba.

‡ Since divided into the counties of Lincoln and Rutherford.

Rowan, and Major David Wilson, of Mecklenburg, to Captains Falls and Brandon, of Rowan, and also to other officers to make every effort to raise men to disperse the Tories, it being deemed impolitic by General Rutherford to weaken his own force until the object of Rawdon's expedition was better ascertained.

On the 15th General Rutherford advanced two miles to the south of Charlotte. On the 17th he was informed that Lord Rawdon had retired towards Camden, and that the Tories were assembled in force at Ramsour's Mill, near the south fork of the Catawba. A man by the name of John Moore, whose father and family resided about six miles from Ramsour's Mill, had joined the British army the preceding winter, and leaving the detachment under Cornwallis on the march from Charleston to Camden, he arrived at his father's on the 7th of June wearing a sword and an old tattered suit of regimentals. He announced himself as Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment of North Carolina Loyalists, commanded by Col. John Hamilton, of Halifax County. He gave to the people of the neighborhood the first particular account which they had received of the siege and capture of Charleston and the advance of the British troops to Camden. He appointed the 10th of June for an assembling of the people in the woods on Indian Creek, seven miles from Ramsour's Mill. Forty men assembled, and Moore told them it was not the wish of Lord Cornwallis that they should embody at that time, but that they, with all other royal subjects, should hold themselves in readiness, and in the meantime get in their harvest; that before the getting in of the harvest

it would be difficult to procure provisions for the British army, and that as soon as the country could furnish subsistence to the army it would advance into North Carolina and give support to the Royalists.

Before this meeting broke up an express arrived to inform them that Major Joseph M'Dowell, of Burke County, with twenty men, was within eight miles of them in search of some of the principal persons of their party. Confident of their strength, they resolved to attack M'Dowell; but some preparations being necessary, they could not march until the next morning, when, finding that he had retired, they pursued him to the ledge of mountains which separate the counties of Lincoln and Burke, and not being able to overtake him, Moore directed them to return home and meet him on the 13th at Ramsour's. On that day two hundred men met Moore, and they were joined on the next day by many others, among whom was Nicholas Welsh, a major in the regiment commanded by Colonel Hamilton. He had lived in that neighborhood, and had joined the British army eighteen months before. He was directly from the army of Lord Cornwallis, and gave information of Colonel Buford's defeat. He wore a rich suit of regimentals, and exhibited a considerable number of guineas by which he sought to allure some, whilst he endeavored to intimidate others by an account of the success of the British army in all the operations of the South, and the total inability of the Whigs to make further opposition. His conduct had the desired effect, and much more confidence was placed in him than in Colonel Moore. They remained encamped until the 20th, during which time a detachment commanded by

Colonel Moore made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Col. Hugh Brevard and Maj. Joseph M'Dowell, each of whom, with a number of Whigs, came into the neighborhood to harass the Tories who were assembling.

By the 20th nearly thirteen hundred men had assembled at Ramsour's, one-fourth of whom were without arms. General Rutherford resolved to concentrate his force and attack them as soon as he learned that Lord Rawdon had retired to Camden. With this view he marched on Sunday, the 18th, from his camp south of Charlotte, to the Tuckasege Ford on the Catawba, twelve miles nearer to Ramsour's.\* In the evening of that day he dispatched an express to Colonel Locke advising him of his movement and of the enemy's strength and ordering Locke to join him on the 19th, in the evening, or on the 20th, in the morning, a few miles in advance of the Tuckasege Ford. The express was negligent and did not reach Colonel Locke. The morning of the 19th was wet, and the arms of General Rutherford's men were out of order. At midday the weather cleared up, and orders were given to the men to discharge their guns. This discharge produced an alarm in the neighborhood, and the people thinking the Tories were attempting to cross the river, many of them came in arms and joined Rutherford. In the evening he crossed the river and encamped sixteen miles from Ramsour's. When Rutherford crossed the river

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\* The fords referred to in this narrative are :

1. Tuckasege, lowest on the river, twenty miles from Ramsour's.
2. Tool's, ten miles higher up, twenty-two miles from Ramsour's.
3. Beattie's, eight miles above Tool's, eighteen miles from Ramsour's.
4. M'Ewen's four miles above Beattie's, twenty miles from Ramsour's.
5. Sherrill's, six miles above M'Ewen's, twenty five miles from Ramsour's.

it was believed that he would march in the night and attack the Tories on the next morning, but supposing his express had reached Colonel Locke, he waited for Locke's arrival, that he might on the next day march full force to the attack. At ten o'clock at night Col. James Johnston, of Tryon County, reached Rutherford's camp. He had been dispatched by Colonel Locke to give notice of his intention to attack the Tories at sunrise the next morning, and to request Rutherford's co-operation. Rutherford, in the confident expectation that his express had reached Colonel Locke shortly after Colonel Johnston had left him, made no movement until the next morning.

In pursuance of the orders given to Colonel Locke and other officers at Mallard's Creek on the 14th, they severally collected as many men as they could, and on the morning of the 18th Major Wilson, with sixty-five men, passed the Catawba at Tool's Ford and joined Major M'Dowell, with twenty-five men. They passed up the river at right angles with the position of the Tories, to join the detachment of their friends who were assembling at the upper fords. At M'Ewen's Ford, being joined by Captain Falls, with forty men under his command, they continued their march up the east side of Mountain Creek, and on Monday, the 19th, they joined Colonel Locke, Captain Brandon and other officers with two hundred and seventy men. The whole force united, amounting to four hundred. They encamped on Mountain Creek, sixteen miles from Ramsour's. The officers met in council and they were unanimous in the opinion that it would be unsafe to remain in that position, as the Tories could attack them after a

march of a few hours, and from the inferiority of their force they had no doubt the Tories would march on them as soon as they learned where they were.

It was first proposed they should recross the Catawba at Sherrill's Ford, six miles in their rear, and wait for reinforcements, believing that with their force they could prevent the Tories from crossing. To this it was objected that a retrograde movement would embolden the Tories, whose numbers were increasing as fast as probably their own numbers would increase after they had recrossed the river, and no additional security could, therefore, be obtained by such a movement.

It was next proposed that they should march directly down the river and join Colonel Rutherford, who was then distant from them about forty-five miles. It was said this movement could be made without risk, as in making it they would not be nearer to Ramsour's than they were. To this prudent proposition it was objected that nearly all the effective Whigs of that section of the country were from home, either with them or General Rutherford, and such a movement would leave their families unprotected and their houses exposed to pillage; that it would be also a dangerous movement to themselves, as the Tories might be in motion and they might encounter them in their march. It was insinuated that these propositions proceeded, if not from fear, at least from an unwillingness to meet the Tories; and therefore a third proposition was made, which was that notwithstanding their disparity of force, they should march during the night and attack the Tories in their camp early next morning. It was said that the Tories, being ignorant of their force and suddenly attacked,

could be easily routed. The more prudent members of the council could not brook the insinuation of cowardice, and trusting to that fortune which sometimes crowns even rashness with success, it was unanimously resolved immediately to march, and at daybreak attack the Tories. Colonel Johnston being well acquainted with the country, was instantly dispatched to apprise General Rutherford of this resolution.

Late in the evening they commenced their march from Mountain Creek, and passing down the south side of the mountain they halted at the west end of it about an hour in the night, and the officers convened to determine on the plan of attack. It was agreed that the companies commanded by Captains Falls, M'Dowell and Brandon should act on horseback and go in front. No other arrangements were made, and it was left to the officers to be governed by circumstances after they should reach the enemy. They resumed their march and arrived within a mile of the enemy's camp at daybreak.

The Tories were encamped on a hill, three hundred yards east of Ramsour's Mill, and half a mile north of the present flourishing village of Lincolnton. The ridge stretches nearly to the east on the south side of the mill-pond, and the road leading from the Tuckasege Ford by the mill, crosses the point of the ridge in a northwestern direction. The Tories occupied an excellent position on the summit of the ridge; their right on the road fronting to the south. The ridge has a very gentle slope, and was then interspersed with only a few trees, and the fire of the Tories had full rake in front for more than two hundred yards. The foot of the



ridge was bounded by a glade, the side of which was covered with bushes. The road passed the western end of the glade at right angles, opposite the centre of the line, and on this road a fence extended from the glade to a point opposite the right of the line. The picket guard, twelve in number, were stationed on the road, two hundred and fifty yards south of the glade, and six hundred yards from the encampment.

The companies of Captains Falls, M'Dowell and Brandon being mounted, the other troops, under Colonel Locke, were arranged in the road two deep behind them; and without any other organization or orders they were marched to battle. When the horsemen came within sight of the picquet they plainly perceived that their approach had not been anticipated. The picquet fired and fled towards their camp. The horsemen pursued, and turning to the right out of the road they rode up within thirty steps of the line and fired at the Tories, who, being in confusion, had not completely formed their line; but seeing only a few men assailing them, they quickly recovered from their panic and poured in a destructive fire which obliged the horsemen to retreat. They retreated in disorder, passing through the infantry who were advancing; several of the infantry joined them and never came into action. At a convenient distance the greater part of the horsemen rallied, and returning to the fight exerted themselves with spirit during its continuance. The infantry hurried to keep near the horsemen in their pursuit of the picquet, and their movements being very irregular, their files were open six or eight steps, and when the

front approached the Tories the rear was an hundred and sixty yards back.

The Tories, seeing the effect of their fire, came down the hill a little distance and were in fair view. The infantry of the Whigs kept the road to the point between the glade and the corner of the fence opposite the centre of the Tories. Here the action was renewed. The front fired several times before the rear came up. The Tories being on their left, they deployed to the right in front of the glade, and came into action without order or system. In some places they were crowded together in each other's way; in other places there were none. As the rear came up they occupied those places, and the line gradually extending, the action became general and obstinate on both sides. In a few minutes the Tories began to retire to their position on the top of the ridge and soon fell back a little behind the ridge to shelter part of their bodies from the fire of the Whigs, who were fairly exposed to their fire. In this situation their fire became so destructive that the Whigs fell back to the bushes near the glade, and the Tories leaving their safe position pursued them half way down the ridge. At this moment Captain Hardin led a party of Whigs into the field, and under cover of the fence kept up a galling fire on the right flank of the Tories; and some of the Whigs discovering that the ground on their right was more favorable to protect them from that of the Tories, obliqued in that direction towards the east end of the glade. This movement gave their line the proper extension. They continued to oblique until they turned the left flank of the Tories; and the contest being well maintained in the centre, the Tories began

to retreat up the ridge. They found part of their position occupied by the Whigs. In that quarter the action became close, and the parties mixed together in two instances; and, having no bayonets, they struck at each other with the butts of their guns. In this strange contest several of the Tories were taken prisoners, and others of them, divesting themselves of their mark of distinction (which was a twig of green pine top stuck in their hats), intermixed with the Whigs, and all being in their common dress, escaped unnoticed.

When the Tories were driven back the second time, and the left of their line became mixed with the Whigs, a Dutchman (of the Tories) meeting suddenly with an acquaintance of the Whigs addressed him, "Hey, how do you do, Pilly? I has known you since you was a little poy, and I would not hurt one hair of your head, because I has never known no harm of you, only that you was a rebel." Billy, who was not so generous, and was much agitated, and his gun being empty, clubbed it and made a blow at the Dutchman's head, which he dodged. The Dutchman cried out, "Oh, stop, stop! I is not going to stand still and be killed like a damned fool neder," and raised the butt of his gun and made a blow at Billy's head, which he missed, and one of Billy's comrades, whose piece was loaded, clapped his muzzle under the Dutchman's arm and the poor fellow fell dead.

The Tories finding the left of their position in possession of the Whigs and their centre being closely pressed, retreated down the ridge towards the mill exposed to the fire of the centre and of Captain Hardin's company behind the fence. The Whigs pursued until they got entire possession of the ridge, when they perceived to

their astonishment that the Tories had collected in force on the other side of the creek beyond the mill. They expected the fight would be renewed, and attempted to form a line; but only eighty-six men could be paraded. Some were scattered during the action, others were attending to their wounded friends, and after repeated efforts not more than a hundred and ten could be collected.

In this perilous situation of things it was resolved that Major Wilson and Capt. William Alexander, of Rowan, should hasten to General Rutherford and urge him to press forward to their assistance. Rutherford had marched early in the morning, and, at the distance of six or seven miles from Ramsour's, was met by Wilson and Alexander. Major Davie's cavalry was started at full gallop, and Colonel Davidson's infantry were ordered to hasten on with all possible speed. At the end of two miles they were met by others from the battle, who informed them that the Tories had retreated. The march was continued, and the troops arrived on the ground two hours after the battle had closed. The dead and most of the wounded were still lying where they fell.

As soon as the action began those of the Tories who had no arms and several who had, retreated across the creek.

These were joined by others when they were first beaten back up the ridge, and by the two hundred that were well armed, who had arrived two days before from Lower Creek, in Burke County, under Captains Whitson and Murray. Colonel Moore and Major Welsh soon joined them, and those of the Tories who continued to

fight to the last crossed the creek and joined them as soon as the Whigs got possession of the ridge. Believing that they were completely beaten, they formed a strategem to secure their retreat. About the time that Wilson and Alexander were dispatched to General Rutherford, they sent in a flag under a pretence of proposing a suspension of hostilities, to make arrangements for taking care of the wounded and burying the dead. To prevent the flag officers from perceiving their small number, Maj. James Rutherford† and another officer were ordered to meet them a short distance in front of the line. The proposition being made, Major Rutherford demanded that the Tories should surrender as prisoners within ten minutes, and then the arrangements should be made which were requested. In the meantime Moore and Welsh gave orders that such of their men as were on foot, or had inferior horses, should move off singly as fast as they could; and when the flag returned not more than fifty remained. They immediately fled, Moore, with thirty men, reached the British army at Camden, when he was threatened with a trial by a court-martial for disobedience of orders in attempting to embody the Royalists before the time appointed by the commander-in-chief. He was treated with disrespect by the British officers and held in a state of disagreeable suspense, but it was at length deemed impolitic to order him before a court-martial.

As there was no organization of either party, nor regular returns made after the action, the loss could not be ascertained with correctness. Fifty-six lay dead on the side of the ridge where the heat of the action pre-

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† Son of the General. He was killed at the battle of the Eutaw.

vailed; many lay scattered on the flanks and over the ridge towards the mill. It is believed that seventy were killed, and that the loss on each side was nearly equal. About an hundred men on each side were wounded, and fifty Tories were taken prisoners. The men had no uniform, and it could not be told to which party many of the dead belonged. Most of the Whigs wore a piece of white paper on their hats in front, and many of the men on each side being excellent riflemen, this paper was a mark at which the Tories often fired, and several of the Whigs were shot in the head. The trees behind which both Whigs and Tories occasionally took shelter were grazed by the balls; and one tree in particular, on the left of the Tories' line, at the root of which two brothers lay dead, was grazed by three balls on one side and by two on the other.

In this battle neighbors, near relations and personal friends fought each other; and as the smoke would from time to time blow off they could recognize each other. In the evening and on the next day the relations and friends of the dead and wounded came in, and a scene was witnessed truly afflicting to the feelings of humanity.

After the action commenced scarcely any orders were given by the officers. They fought like common soldiers and animated their men by their example, and they suffered severely. Of the Whigs, Captains Falls,\* Dobson, Smith, Bowman and Armstrong were killed; and Captains Houston and M'Kissick wounded.

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\* Captain Falls lived in Rowan (Iredell) County nearly thirty miles distant. His wife, riding on horseback, accompanied by her negro cook, came to the place and finding him killed, took the body home on horseback, across Sherrill's Ford, for burial.—Ed.

Captain M'Kissick was wounded early in the action, being shot through the top of the shoulder; and finding himself disabled, went from the battleground about 80 poles to the west. About the the time the firing ceased he met ten of the Tories coming from a neighboring farm, where they had been until the sound of the firing started them. They were confident their side was victorious, and several of them knowing Captain M'Kissick, insulted him and would have used him ill, but for Abram Keener, Sr., one of his neighbors, who protected and took him prisoner. While marching on towards the battle ground Keener kept lamenting, "That a man so clever and such a good neighbor and of such good sense should ever be a rebel." He continued his lecture to Captain M'Kissick until they came where the Whigs were formed. Keener looking around and seeing so many strange faces, said, "Hey, poys, I believe you has got a good many prisoners here." Immediately a number of guns were cocked, and Captain M'Kissick, though much exhausted by loss of blood, had to exert himself to save the lives of Keener and party.

Of the Tories, Captains Cumberland, Murry and Warlick were killed, and Captain Carpenter wounded. Few either of the officers or men had ever been in battle before.

N. B.—In the year 1771, Governor Tryon having defeated the Regulators at the battle of Alamance, detached General Waddell with a brigade to the western counties, and directed him to cause the people to assemble at certain stations and take the oath of allegiance to his Majesty George the III. A part of Waddell's command had halted at Ramsour's, and most of the men in the adjoining country had taken the oath. These men thought that this

oath imposed upon them an obligation that neither the change of circumstances nor conduct of his Majesty's government could impair. They adhered to the royal cause from conscientious motives. There were few among them who had sufficient information either to understand or explain the true grounds of the contest.

General Rutherford who commanded the militia of this district was an officer in Waddell's command, and no doubt present when they were compelled to take the oath.

Nearly every leader on the American side as Caswell, Nash, Ashe and others had been very active in Governor Tryon's service in 1771. It is, therefore, not surprising that many of the citizens of Tryon County did not feel disposed to act with them in violation of the oath of allegiance which they had compelled them to take.

Governor Tryon reports to the Secretary for the Colonies, in 1771, that he had received intelligence that the counties of Tryon, Mecklenburg and a portion of Rowan were meditating hostilities; he had, therefore, sent General Waddell with a military force through that section to compel the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance.

Catawba County was never a part of Tryon. Lord "Granville's line" was the boundary between Rowan (Burke) and Tryon Counties. Lord Cornwallis marched through this section and received no recruits. A guide or messenger would have enabled him to intercept Morgan.



## CHAPTER III.

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1. EXPEDITION AGAINST THE TORIES IN THE FORKS OF THE YADKIN.
  2. AFFAIR AT COLSON'S MILL.
  3. ENGAGEMENT AT ROCKY MOUNT.
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1. EXPEDITION AGAINST TORIES EMBODIED UNDER COLONEL BRYAN IN THE FORKS OF THE YADKIN RIVER.

When General Rutherford reached the battle-field at Ramsour's Mill, on the 20th of June, 1780, he had under his command upwards of 1,200 men. Davie's cavalry and others were dispatched through the country in search of the fugitives who had dispersed in every direction. They found a number of them and brought them to camp, all of whom were permitted to return to their homes on bail, except a few of the most active and influential characters, who were kept in confinement and sent to Salisbury jail. The men who went with him as volunteers, as well as those under Colonel Locke, considered themselves at liberty to return home after the battle, except those who had been designated to serve a tour of duty of three months, the usual term of service at that period; and some of them were furloughed for a short time. By this means, by the 22d, his numbers were reduced to less than two hundred men. On that day he received information by an express that the Tories were assembled in considerable force in the forks of the Yadkin, in the north end of Rowan County adjoining Surry, about seventy-five miles

northeast of Ramsour's, under the command of Colonel Bryan, who lived a few miles below the Shallow Ford, on the west side of that river, and had persuaded his neighbors and acquaintances to rise in arms; for after the capture of Charleston and the defeat of Buford the only regular troops in the South, the rebellion was certainly crushed. The same day General Rutherford ordered Major Davie's cavalry to march and take a position in advance of Charlotte, on the Camden road near Waxhaw Creek, to keep under the disaffected and watch the motions of the British in that quarter. He marched with the infantry that were with him the direct route towards Bryan, and sent orders to the officers on each side of his line of march to join him with all the men they could raise, on his way. After crossing the Catawba River his force began to increase, and when he arrived within fifteen miles of the Tories his force was augmented to upwards of six hundred men, and he prepared to attack Bryan the next day.

Colonel Bryan anticipated his design. He had heard of the defeat at Ramsour's, and of General Rutherford coming against him with a large force. On the 30th of June he crossed over the Yadkin to the east side and continued his route down the river through the settlements which were disaffected; many of the inhabitants joined him on his march, and when he passed Abbott's Creek his force was reported to amount to seven or eight hundred men. By this movement it was evident his intention was to form a junction with Maj. McArthur, whom Lord Cornwallis on his arrival at Camden had sent on with the first battalion (about four hundred men) of the 71st regiment to the Cheraw hill

on the Pee Dee for the purpose of preserving in submission the country between that river and the Santee, and corresponding with the Scotch settlements on the Cape Fear, which were generally attached to the British.

General Rutherford being apprised of Bryan's intention, took the nearer route down the west side of the river by Salisbury and the old Trading Ford, endeavoring to get in his front before he reached Salisbury. He there found that Bryan, by rapid marches, had passed before him. From this place he detached Col. William L. Davidson, with a select party, down the west side of the river for the purpose of intercepting Bryan should he attempt to pass it before he reached McArthur, and the main body pursued him, thinking if he halted or delayed they would overtake him. But he and party were so panic stricken with the result of the affair at Ramsour's that they marched night and day down the east side of the Yadkin and Pee Dee until they came opposite the British force under Major McArthur, and passed over the river and formed a junction with him. Rutherford, finding it impossible to overtake the Tories, left off the pursuit and returned.

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2. COLONEL DAVIDSON SURPRISES A PARTY OF  
TORIES IN THE VICINITY OF COLSON'S MILL,  
NEAR THE CONFLUENCE OF ROCKY RIVER  
AND PEE DEE.

The party under Colonel Davidson, who went down the west side of the river, the second day after they left Salisbury, heard of a party of Tories at a farm in the

vicinity of Colson's Mill, near the junction of Rocky River with Pee Dee, and marched rapidly to endeavor to surprise them. When they arrived near the farm they divided the party so as to attack them in front, and the flank by which it was known they would attempt to retire, at the same time. Colonel Davidson's party arrived at their station first and was discovered by the Tories, and when he was deploying his party into line they commenced firing on him. His party came steadily to the position required without confusion or returning the fire. When formed they advanced briskly, Colonel Davidson in front rendered conspicuous by his uniform. The enemy's marksmen aimed at him, one of whom wounded him severely. However, this had no effect on the result of the action. The disposition had been so correctly made and all moving on at full charge with trailed arms, and the party sent around the flank attacking at the same time, the enemy fled after having three killed and four or five wounded and ten taken prisoners. Being in their own neighborhood where they knew the country, most of them escaped. Their numbers somewhat exceeded that of their assailants, which was about two hundred and fifty. On the part of the Whigs no person was injured but Colonel Davidson, and one other wounded. He was confined by the wound for two months, which was much regretted by the militia, as the few weeks he had been vested with a command among them had inspired a confidence nothing could shake. As no other party of Tories was known to be collecting, and it was unsafe to go nearer McArthur after being reinforced by Bryan, Colonel Davidson and party returned home; and General Ruth-

erford, after staying a few days near Salisbury, marched with those serving a tour of duty to join General Gates, who was advancing near the Pee Dee.

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3. HILLS' IRON WORKS BURNED BY THE ENEMY.  
GENERAL SUMTER IS PLACED AT THE HEAD  
OF THE NORTH CAROLINA MILITIA. UNSUC-  
CESSFUL ATTACK ON ROCKY MOUNT.

Scarcely had the volunteers who had been out on those several expeditions returned, when they were alarmed by the enemy approaching in another quarter. On the 7th of July it was understood a party of British and Tories were marching up the west side of Catawba River, and it was ordered that the men in the west of Mecklenburg should attend public worship at Steel Creek church with their arms, on Sunday, the 9th. After sermon, parting with their families, the men were organized and marched down the east side of the river. The enemy advanced the same day as far as Hill's Iron Works, about ten miles below said church, on the west side. They set the works on fire. In the evening when our party approached within four miles of the works on the hills above Bigger's Ferry, they saw the smoke ascending and heard the enemy was there. At night our men were joined by other companies from the north of Mecklenburg and a few South Carolina refugees under the command of General Sumter. He being the officer highest in grade, was vested with the command of the whole party. Next morning we had information by our patrol that after the enemy

had burned the iron works they marched towards where Yorkville now stands.

General Sumter moved seven miles to the east, where the road from Charlotte to the old Nation Ford crosses Hagler's Branch, near Spratt's farm, in the Indian land. Others joined in the course of the day, and on the 12th he had upwards of five hundred men. The position being favorable for collecting supplies of provisions, he determined to occupy it a few days; but doubtful of being visited by the enemy's cavalry, the ground being hilly and covered with oak timber, the general ordered the timber to be felled in different directions around the camp, somewhat in the form of an "abattis," and the body of the trees split and leaned over the pole, supported by forks on some high stump, the other end on the ground at an angle of thirty degrees elevation, and facing the avenues left through the brush or abattis for passage, so that it would answer the double purpose for the men to be under and for defence. If the enemy's cavalry had come, unless supported by a large body of infantry or artillery, they could not have forced the camp.

Major Davie, at his station near Waxhaw Creek, by his scout discovered a party of the British were advancing up the road from Camden, and immediately sent an express to General Sumter, who by this time had intelligence that the party on the west side of the river had entered Rocky Mount. On the 17th of July he marched to Waxhaw and formed a junction with Davie's cavalry. The place being unfavorable for support, on the 18th he marched down Waxhaw Creek on the south side

past Waxhaw Meeting-house,\* to a Dr. Harper's plantation, who was said to be disaffected. The horses were turned into a green corn-field, not having provender for the whole—upward of seven hundred. Early on the 19th the party of observation near the enemy communicated that they had marched from below the Hanging Rock Creek on the road towards Charlotte. The horses were caught in great haste, and the command marched briskly to gain the ford on Waxhaw Creek before the enemy (there being no convenient ford below), and halted at noon about six miles further on. It was expected the enemy would move on in the evening or night, and a disposition was made for their reception. Major Davie's cavalry and one hundred gunmen were placed opposite the ford on the north side of the creek, and upwards of five hundred south of the creek, about thirty poles west of the road, in a thick wood where cavalry could not act, and continued in this position until next morning, but the enemy did not move. If they had advanced they were to have let them pass until they encountered the party with Major Davie, when those with General Sumter were to have moved from their concealed position and attacked them in the flank and rear. From the nature of the ground and disposition of the American force, the enemy must have been destroyed. Neither cavalry nor artillery could have been of service to them. It was not thought advisable to attack the enemy at his camp, and as Lord Rawdon, when there before had consumed

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\*Waxhaw Meeting House was at this time the hospital for the survivors of those who were wounded at Buford's defeat, about eighty in number, and being between the two armies, was neglected in nurses, medical assistance, and suitable provisions. Perhaps a more complicated scene of misery, in proportion to their number, was not exhibited in the whole war.

the forage at the neighboring farms, General Sumter moved back on the road to Charlotte sixteen miles to Clem's Branch, and encamped where he could draw his supplies from the fertile settlement of Providence on his left.

He continued in this place near a week; the number of his men daily diminished. While he kept moving, and they expected to meet the enemy, they kept with him; but whenever they came to attend only to the dull routine of camp duty, such as mounting, relieving and standing guard and enduring privations, they became discontented, and those in convenient distance went home, and others to the houses of their acquaintances, having no camp equipage or utensils but what each brought with him. Though the officers had rolls of their companies, they were seldom called, and they could not tell who were present, only as they saw them in camp.

This was the first practical lesson to our commanders of militia, showing that while they kept in motion and the men expected that something would be achieved, they continued with the army; but after a few days in camps, they became discontented, and would scatter, and of those who staid, the careless and slovenly manner in which the duty of guard was performed afforded no security to the camp. Of this experience, General Sumter and other officers availed themselves afterwards to the end of the war.

By the 25th of July, he had not with him more than one hundred men, and he sent out some of them through the adjoining settlements, giving notice to all to repair to camp, that he intended to attack the enemy. By the



28th, such numbers joined as induced him to march. It was known that the main party of the enemy were at Hanging Rock Creek, and a detachment at Rocky Mount on the west of the Catawba. He decided on attacking the latter, and crossed over the Catawba with that view.

On the 1st day of August he arrived at that place, situated on the top of a hill, on the west side of Catawba, just below the mouth of Rocky Creek (three miles below where now, 1821, stands the United States establishment), and the base of the mount is bounded by the river on the east, and the creek on the north. The log buildings, which were fortified with abattis, and had loopholes to shoot through, stood on the summit of the mount and were held by Colonel Turnbull, with a party of British and some Tories, supposed to be one hundred and fifty in the whole. The slope from the top of the hill was gradual, and nearly equal on all sides, and the land cleared. There was no swell in the ground to shelter them from the enemy's fire, only on the west side of a ledge of a blackish kind of rocks at the distance of one hundred and forty yards from the houses. The men were drawn up in a line below these rocks, and advanced up to them, and a party sent around on each flank. A brisk fire commenced on both sides, which lasted a considerable time, and great exertions were made by the assailants to discover some point where they might carry the works, but found them equally difficult at all points. The enemy were under cover in the fortified buildings, and sustained but little damage from the Americans, and the rocks were not so extensive as to shelter them from the fire of the British. The General, finding it impossible to take the place without artillery to batter

the houses, ordered a retreat. Col. Andrew Neal (of York), a young man of great promise, and much regretted, and two others were killed, and six wounded. Among the wounded was Alexander Haynes, yet living in the south end of Mecklenburg, who having fired his rifle twice from behind the rocks and had loaded his gun the third time, and peeping past the side of the black rock for an object, his face being white became an object for the enemy's marksmen, one of whom shot him under the eye and ranging under the brain, but missed the vertebra of the neck. It was thought he was killed, but seeing life was in him, when they were about to retire, his acquaintances carried him off. He was cured, though he lost his eye. It ran out shortly after he was wounded.

The enemy did not attempt to annoy Sumter on the retreat. He moved up the river, and the next day crossed at Land's Ford, where he met Colonel Irwin, from Mecklenburg, with a considerable reinforcement, who had not time to join after the order issued at Clem's Branch, 25th of July. By slow movements, he kept up Waxhaw Creek until he forwarded his wounded to the hospital at Charlotte. Some other small parties continued to join, and he determined to attack the enemy at Hanging Rock. He had discovered that his men, while marching and fighting, and fighting and marching, would keep with him, but to encamp and remain stationary, he might calculate with certainty his force would diminish; therefore, if he failed in his enterprise, the loss to the country would only be those who were killed and wounded. The remainder might be organized in a short time as formidably as before. If he succeeded, it would considerably weaken the enemy's effective force, and have

considerable weight in the operations which he expected shortly would take place. Having made all the necessary arrangements circumstances would permit, the General ordered the troops to march on the evening of the 5th of August, with a view to attacking the enemy early on the next morning. The enemy's force was estimated at more than five hundred, and upwards of half were regulars.

General Sumter marched in the night sixteen miles, and early on the 6th of August the sound of horses' bells, the smoke of settlers along the valley of Hanging Rock Creek, apprised them that they were near the enemy's encampment.

## CHAPTER IV.

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1. BATTLE OF HANGING ROCK.
  2. ENGAGEMENT AT CHARLOTTE AND THE CROSS ROADS  
EVENTS PRECEDING AND FOLLOWING.
  3. MCINTYRE'S FARM.
  4. ROYAL GOVERNOR MARTIN'S PROCLAMATION.
  5. CORNWALLIS' RETREAT TO WINNSBORO.
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## I. BATTLE OF HANGING ROCK—AUGUST 6, 1780.

In the sheets forwarded herewith it is omitted in its proper place to state that when Gen. Sumter was on the expedition to Rocky Mount, Major Davie cut off a detachment of Bryan's Tories near the British lines, &c.—for the particulars I refer you to Lee's account, and generally his statement of the Hanging Rock; but some incidents are omitted. When the men under Sumter and Davie united, had made their disposition to attack, their guides, though well acquainted with the ground, were not with the position, in which the enemy was encamped, and unfortunately led them on Bryan's Tories instead of the British. Their attack was so impetuous the Tories fled on the second fire, and the ardour of Davie's Cavalry was such they could not be restrained, but pursued them. On the first alarm, the British near a quarter of a mile distant, detached a party of about one hundred men to support them; they arrived on the eminence directly after the Tories had left it, and commenced a fire by platoons in succession, overshot their opponents, who by taking steady aim and in a half circle around the eminence, in a short time caused one-third of them to fall; the rest retreated to the main body, and were briskly pursued by Sumter's men. When the British joined their comrades, the action became general. After a few discharges they retreated, taking their Artillery with them for about three hundred yards, when they rallied, though somewhat scattered and out of order; and the action was renewed—the Whigs more scattered, some intoxicated, others plundering in the British camp; however a respectable number still facing the enemy and pressing them closely, they were compelled gradually to give ground two hundred yards further; at

last formed a square, &c. I refer you to Lee's statement for the rest. When the firing became slack, and the enemy maintained his position, Gen. Sumter had his men withdrawn a small distance and formed, and as many stragglers collected as he could, intending to renew the action.

He rode along the line personally inquiring of each man his stock of ammunition; it was found they had not on an average three rounds per man, which was the true cause of his retreating. The great blunder committed in this action was in suffering Davie's Cavalry to charge the Tories in their retreat at so early a period, which neither Davie nor Sumter could prevent; it was not doubted after it was over that if they had been kept in a compact body until the main body of the British were forced from their camp, by the gallantry of the infantry, and had turned their backs for three hundred yards, a charge of seventy Cavalry would have made them surrender, but at that period, but few of the Cavalry had returned from pursuit of the Tories and they were yet unformed. The whole number lost on each side was never ascertained. Of the Militia from Mecklenburg, Capt. David Reid, a man equally distinguished for his patriotism and piety, and eight others were killed, and Lieut. D. Flanigen, Ensign McClure and Ensign Flanigen, and twelve privates wounded. In no action were there more acts of individual heroism displayed, or more hair's breadth escapes. Col. Robt. Irwin, who commanded the North Carolina Militia, had his clothes perforated with four separate balls, and escaped unhurt. Lieut. George Graham, who commanded Capt. Reid's company after he was killed, (early in the action) and many of the soldiers, had their clothes cut in like manner. On the British retreat from their position after being forced from their camp, on the right of their line, they kept firing a three pounder. Capt. James Knox\* of Mecklenburg gave order to his men to load their guns, and when that piece fired the next time, they would take it—on the discharge of the gun they started in full run, and before the artillery could load, got within forty steps and began to fire, the British retreated, and Knox and party took the gun and turned her on their adversaries, but unfortunately none of them knew how to manage or load her, though in their possession several minutes. The enemy rallied and came on with fixed bayonets and retook the gun. From this time until after Gates's and Sumter's

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\* Grandfather of President James K. Polk.

defeats on the 16th and 18th of August, I refer you to the details of Marshal, Ramsay and Lee as being more accurate than I can give.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your most obed't servant,

J. GRAHAM.

A. D. Murphey, Esq., Atto., &c.

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## 2. CHARLOTTE AND CROSS ROADS—PRECEDING AND SUCCEEDING MOVEMENTS.

After the battle of Hanging Rock, General Sumter retired by slow movements with his wounded, unmolested by the enemy, towards Charlotte, where the general hospital was now established. When he crossed Waxhaw Creek, the wounded were placed in charge of the volunteers from Mecklenburg, who constituted the greater part of his force, and were now returning home; that county having, without them, her full quota of men in the field under General Rutherford, who had recently joined General Gates, then advancing between Pee Dee and Lynch's Creek, reported to have six or seven thousand men.

General Sumter, as soon as disincumbered of his wounded, passed the Catawba, and availing himself of the report of Gates' arrival with so large a force, roused his countrymen to join his standard, it being the first time a respectable force of South Carolina militia appeared in the field after the enemy came into the interior. The conduct of the British general was favorable to his views, for shortly after his arrival at Camden, the greater part of the inhabitants went to him and took protection, and were directed to stay at home and pursue their business, and their persons and property should be protected, and moreover, when the army need-

ed supplies, the hard cash would be paid for them, etc. For a few days this was done, but in a short time their property was taken without compensation, and their best horses searched after, to mount the cavalry and officers of the British army. Upon complaint to the commanding officer, neither pay nor other redress could be had. On the report of Gates approaching, they were, in addition to other grievances, ordered to be organized as militia, to be in readiness to join the British standard when called on. This changed their condition so far from what they had expected and had been promised, that they had no further confidence in the British; and if there was no alternative but that they must risk their lives and fight, they would choose on which side. When they joined General Sumter, and occasionally afterwards passed through the country, as refugees (as they were called), their relation of how they had been treated by the British, and the small reliance to be placed on British promises, had a great tendency to cause a more decided opposition.

If the British General had, agreeably to his promise, paid for his supplies in specie, suffered the inhabitants to remain quietly at home (so long as they demeaned themselves peaceably), and relieved them from the frequent calls for military duty, it is doubted whether ease and cupidity, at that time, would not have overcome patriotism—and it is somewhat difficult to conjecture what would have been the result, especially when the news of this was spread abroad, had not the British commanders, fortunately for the country, pursued a different course.

On the arrival of Gates, however, the Hero of Saratoga, the Conqueror of Burgoyne, the general impression on the public mind was that his name was sufficient, without an army, and the country had full confidence that the enemy would be driven to the ocean in a short time.

The succeeding events are well related by the historians referred to—Marshall, Lee, Ramsay, etc.

When such high expectations of General Gates' success were entertained, it may be judged with what astonishment and surprise the news of his defeat was received. About 11 o'clock at night, 16th August (the same day of the battle), he arrived in Charlotte, seventy-two miles from the battle-ground. He did not dismount, but stopped two or three minutes, while one of his aides\* called on Col. Thos. Polk to inform him of the disaster they had met with, and immediately passed on to Salisbury. The news spread rapidly, and by noon the next day between three and four hundred militia were collected. In the evening, the village was crowded with troops in retreat from the battle and with the assembling militia. The confusion was such that the militia could not be organized until the afternoon of the 18th. Neither officers nor soldiers of Gates' army staid any time in Charlotte, but kept moving on the Salisbury road. General Smallwood, of Maryland, who commanded the reserve in the action, was last engaged, and being pressed by the enemy in pursuit, compelled to turn towards the

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\*At half past eight o'clock, Col. Senf, engineer, dismounted at Col. Polk's gate, as he was preparing to step in bed, and gave the information of the defeat, and that Gen. Gates was at the gate and wished to speak with him. On his going out the General was gone.

Note by Col. Wm. Polk, to whom these manuscripts were submitted by Judge Murphey.—ED.



Catawba. It was generally believed he was killed or taken, but on the third day after the battle, he arrived in Charlotte, to the great joy of the troops he had commanded. His conduct in the action for skill and bravery gained him the confidence of his regulars, which in a great measure was transferred to the militia, whose officers consulted him and other regular officers as to what course they should pursue at the present crisis. They were encouraged to keep embodied and make what resistance they could, if the enemy advanced; that as soon as Congress was advised of the defeat, another army would be ordered to join them; that the enemy must have suffered much, and could not advance for some time. On the 20th, General Smallwood and the rest of the officers and privates who had been in the action set out for Hillsboro, all except Major Anderson, of the Third Maryland Regiment, who was left behind with orders to stay ten or twelve days to collect what stragglers he could, and then follow. In that time he collected about sixty and went on. On the same day that General Smallwood and the officers and men in service left Charlotte, the news was received of Sumter's defeat on the 18th. The officers commanding the Mecklenburg militia, and some of the most influential citizens, convened to consult what should be done. Theirs being a frontier county, the Regulars and militia who had been in service all passing on, a numerous and victorious enemy shortly expected to invade them, and no expectation of assistance from Rowan County, they had to rely on their own strength and resources. Though the regular officers encouraged them to expect assistance, yet from the manner in which they did it, they did

not expect it. Several aged and respectable citizens insinuated that further resistance would, under such circumstances, be temerity, and only produce more certain destruction to themselves and families, which by some other course might be averted. But this was indignantly repelled by a great majority, and especially those who had been in action at Hanging Rock. Several of them stated that they then had seen the British soldiers run like sheep, and many of them bite the dust; that they were by no means invincible; that under suitable commanders and proper arrangements, they would at any time risk a conflict with them, man to man; that their cause was just, and they confided that Providence would ultimately give them success, notwithstanding the present unfavorable appearances. As to endeavoring to obtain terms of the enemy, that was out of the question; that their sister State, South Carolina, had tried the experiment, and found that no faith was to be placed in British promises, justice, generosity, or honor. Several of them declared that while there was any part of the North American continent to which the British authority did not extend, they would endeavor to occupy that. This was one of the times which emphatically "tried men's souls," rather than when, with the enemy at a distance, sitting in deliberative bodies and passing abstract resolves, to which it is generally applied.

The result of the meeting was, that it was recommended to the commanding officer, Colonel Irwin, to camp somewhere to the south of Charlotte, retain half the men liable to military duty, and the other half to attend to their farms, but hold themselves in readiness to join, if the enemy should advance; and that Major

Davie's cavalry (the only corps in service yet unbroken) patrol the country next to Camden. Colonel Irwin selected a position seven or eight miles southeast of Charlotte, between the two roads that lead to Camden from that place, and encamped behind McAlpin's Creek. In a few days he was joined by Colonel Locke with a force from Rowan. As General Rutherford had been taken prisoner at Gates' defeat, the colonels had no superior officer, and being equal in rank, a collision took place as to who should have the chief command. At that time there was no law or regulation existing to settle disputes of this kind, and unhappily the "*esprit de corps*" began to be manifested by those they commanded. In about a week, the dispute was fortunately settled. The Governor of North Carolina, shortly after General Gates arrived in Hillsboro, on learning that General Rutherford was a prisoner, forwarded a commission of Brigadier-General to Col. Wm. L. Davidson, who had just recovered of a wound he received in the skirmish at Colson's early in July, and by the same messenger a commission to Major Davie as colonel of cavalry.

These appointments accorded with public opinion, and settled the difficulty referred to. The General arrived in camp the next day after he received his commission, and assumed the command, to the great satisfaction of all parties. He used every exertion to increase his numbers and improve them in military discipline, and Colonel Davie kept increasing his corps of cavalry as fast as the limited means of the country would admit. Several of the more ingenious blacksmiths were

employed in making swords; scabbards and hangings for them were made by country shoemakers. Both were but coarsely manufactured, but found to answer the purpose.

About the middle of September, General Sumner, of the North Carolina Line, arrived (the State having no Regulars in the field after the fall of Charleston). He now took command of the militia, having with him about eight hundred infantry from the counties of Guilford, Granville, Orange, etc., and several troops of cavalry which were placed under the command of Colonel Davie.

The generous efforts which North Carolina had made against the common enemy in other States, had much impaired her powers of resistance, when the enemy invaded her own territory, and she found herself deserted and abandoned to his depredations—save by her own gallant and loyal sons in all the country west of Hillsboro.

1. Her two Continental Regiments, or battalions, which, when full, comprised fifteen hundred men each, after having served on the Hudson and in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, under the Commander-in-Chief, for three successive campaigns, were, in December, 1779, dispatched by General Washington for the defence of South Carolina, and captured in the fall of Charleston, 12th May, 1780. (See his letters to Major-General Lincoln, 6 Washington's writings, by Sparks, 415; and to LaFayette, *Ibid*, 487.)

2. In the same disaster, 1,000 of her militia were surrendered to the enemy as prisoners of war. (1 Marshall's Life of Washington, 333.)

3. At the defeat of General Gates on the 16th of August, she had a full division of militia in the field under Major-General Caswell, and lost, in prisoners, five hundred men, including Brigadier-General Rutherford, and other effective and popular officers, with many transports and other supplies of war.

These were recent efforts, and attended with fearful losses. To go further back, her continental brigades, under Generals Moore and Howe, had co-operated in the first defence of Charleston in 1776. At the second invasion of South Carolina in 1778-9, she sent to that State a full division of militia under General Ashe, besides a brigade of five-months militia under General Rutherford, and one of her regiments in the continental line, in which last, on this expedition, the writer served. The statute book and legislative journals of that period show repeated appeals to her for aid by South Carolina, when threatened or invaded by the enemy, and that these appeals were never made in vain.

After the defeats of Gates and Sumter, Lord Cornwallis' attention was occupied with the disposition of the prisoners and wounded, in arranging the civil government in South Carolina, in making a suitable disposition of garrisons in the several forts (which diminished his movable forces), and in making his arrangements for further operations. He set out for Camden with the British army, and by slow marches arrived at Hanging Rock on the 18th of September. On the 20th, camped at Waxhaw Creek, giving time for the disaffected to join him; they had hitherto been kept under by Colonel Davie's cavalry, who were at this time patrolling the country, and gave prompt intelligence of every

movement of the British army. Davie retired before them until near General Davidson's quarters at McAlpin's Creek, and obtained a detachment of infantry, with which he set out at noon on the 19th, marched in the night, and early next morning attacked a Tory detachment at Wahab's plantation, a short distance from the British camp. The particulars of this affair are well described by Lee (who, I understand, got the account of that and other affairs from General Davie himself).

On the 24th September, Cornwallis marched from Waxhaw, and on the 25th encamped between McAlpin's and Sugar Creeks, ten miles south of Charlotte. He immediately detached Colonel Tarleton to strike General Sumter, who lay about eight miles on his left, near Bigger's Ferry (now Mason's), who had collected about sixty South Carolina militia after his defeat on the 18th of August. Being in a friendly neighborhood, he had information of Tarleton's approach, and instantly crossed to the west side of the river, and passed the South Branch up into the forks. Tarleton came to the east bank an hour after Sumter left it.

When the patrols gave information of the approach of the British army, on the 25th, Generals Sumner and Davidson broke up their camp on McAlpin's Creek and marched directly towards Salisbury, leaving Charlotte four miles on their left. General Sumner kept on until he crossed the Yadkin at Trading Ford. General Davidson halted behind Mallard's Creek, where the Salisbury road crosses eight miles northeast of Charlotte. Colonel Davie and his cavalry occupied the village. General Davidson ordered Joseph Graham (who had acted as adjutant to the Mecklenburg militia since the

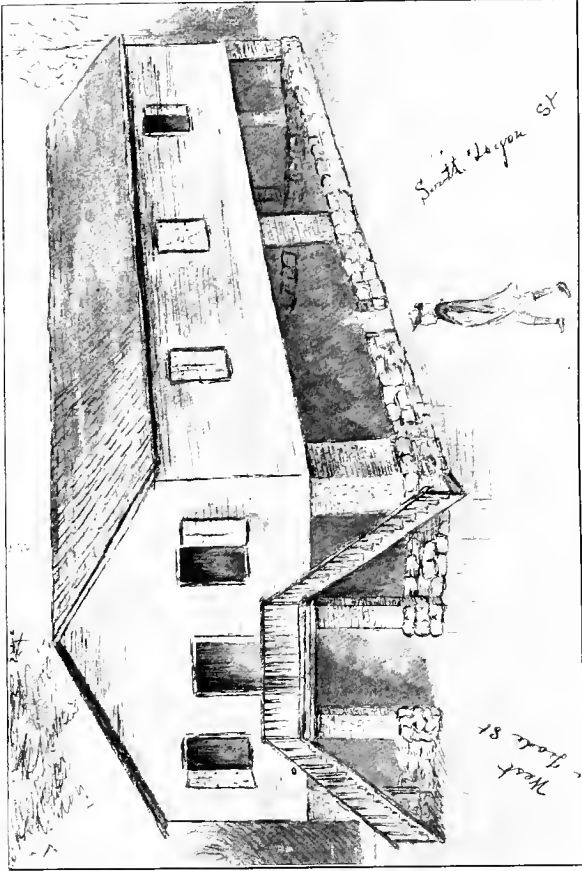
fall of Charleston, and had been for some time before in the regular army under General Lincoln) to Charlotte, to take command of the militia assembling there in consequence of the alarm of the enemy advancing. He (Graham) was requested by Colonel Davie, as his men were best acquainted with the country and by-roads, to go down to the enemy's lines and relieve a party who had been out two days. He relieved Colonel Davie's party in the afternoon, and in the evening took four men, stragglers, at a farm adjacent to the encampment, who had gone out in search of milk, and sent them on to Colonel Davie.

Before sunrise on the 26th, Graham's party discovered the front of the enemy advancing, and two of his men who had been sent down their left flank, reported that the whole army was in motion—that they had seen their artillery, baggage, etc., coming on. They were immediately sent to give Colonel Davie notice, and Graham's troop receded slowly before them. After going a short distance the party were covered from the view of the British by a swell in the ground. They halted and fired on their front as they approached, which the enemy returned briskly, and began to deploy. Graham's party moved on, expecting the British cavalry to pursue, but could see none (it turned out that they were gone with Tarleton after General Sumter).

Within two miles of Charlotte, where the road from the ferry comes in, Tarleton joined them. In five minutes after he arrived, being indisposed by his night's march, Major Hanger took command of the cavalry, and, coming in front, compelled Graham to keep at a more respectful distance. He was pursued by the front







MECKLENBURG COURT-HOUSE, CHARLOTTE, N. C.  
In Which the Meeting was Held May 20, 1775.

troop in a brisk canter for a mile; after that they went at a common travel, until they came in sight of the village, when they halted that the rear might close up, and some of their officers endeavored to reconnoiter.

Colonel Davie had nearly completed his disposition, and during the night and morning had the hospital and military stores removed. Charlotte stands on an eminence of small elevation above the adjacent ground, two wide streets crossing each other at right angles; the court-house was in the centre, a frame building raised on eight brick pillars ten feet from the ground, which was the most elevated in the place. Between the pillars was erected a wall of rock three and a half feet high, and the open basement answered as a market-house for the town. Suitable gaps were made in the lots and other enclosures on the east side of the village for the troops to retire with facility, when compelled. The main body was drawn up in three lines across the street leading to Salisbury, about fifty yards apart—the front line twenty steps from the court-house. Owing to the swell in the ground and the stone wall aforesaid, the whole was nearly masked from the view of the advancing foe, until he came near. One troop was drawn up on each side of the court-house in the cross street, at the distance of eighty yards from it. That on the left was masked by a brick house, that on the right by a log house. Major Dickson, of Lincoln (since General Dickson), with a party of twenty men, was placed behind McComb's house, about twenty-nine poles in advance of the court-house on the left of the street. Graham's company (just arrived before the enemy), with Capt. John Brandon's troop from Rowan, were placed as a reserve in one line

at right angles with the street where the jail now stands. In about thirty minutes after the enemy made his appearance; he had condensed his forces from the loose order of march, by sections, and increased the front of his columns, his cavalry arranged in sub-division, his infantry in platoons (except the Legion, which followed the cavalry). There appeared an interval of about one hundred yards between the columns; the cavalry advanced at a slow pace, until fired on by Major Dickson's party; they then came on at a brisk trot, until within fifty yards of the court-house, when our first line moved up to the stone wall and fired, then wheeled outwards and passed down the flanks of the second line, which was advancing; the enemy, supposing that we were retreating, rushed up to the court-house and received a full fire on each side from the companies placed on the cross streets. Upon which they immediately wheeled and retreated down the street to their infantry, halted and fronted. Their infantry passed out through the lots on each flank and advanced. Our second line, when it reached the court-house, fired at the column of cavalry in retreat, but at rather too great a distance for much execution. Their cavalry now began to move forward again, but the Legion infantry were near one hundred yards in advance on each flank. When they came in view, in rear of lots, they opened a cross fire on each flank of Davie's men, which for a short time was handsomely returned from behind the buildings; but their numbers and firing increasing as they deployed, and the cavalry advancing along the street in a menacing attitude, Colonel Davie ordered a retreat. As soon as the troops who had been engaged passed the reserve, they

had to sustain the whole fire of the Legion, which kept advancing parallel with the street about eighty yards from it. The reserve held their position until they fired two rounds, and moved off in order through the woods on the left of the road. The British cavalry kept in thirty poles until Graham's party passed the first Muddy Branch, about three-quarters of a mile from the courthouse, and one hundred yards from the road, where they wheeled and fronted; the Muddy Branch being between them and the enemy, one hundred yards beyond, and gave them one fire. They halted, waiting for their infantry, which in a short time came running down their flank, and began to fire. Graham ordered his men to disperse, as the woods were thick and they all knew the country. At the distance of two or three miles, the most of them collected where the road crosses Kennedy's Creek (where Frew's farm now is); and as the woods were here thick and deemed suitable to rally in, the men were drawn up, fronting the ford, and two men sent over to see whether the horse or foot were marching in front, it being decided that if the former, the troop should fire from their saddles. The men sent over had not gone one hundred yards from their party before they discovered the front of the cavalry at a small distance, and came back and gave information. The party sat on horseback waiting the approach, when the first thing that presented itself to their view in the edge of the bottom beyond the creek, at the distance of ninety steps, was the front of a full platoon of infantry on each side of the road, on whom they instantly fired and retreated. The enemy fired nearly at the same time, and their balls passing directly through the woods where our line was

formed, and skinning saplings and making bark and twigs fly, produced more of a panic on the militia than any disaster which occurred on that day. All the firing in Charlotte and beyond had generally passed over their heads, but here it appeared to be horizontal. The parties commanded by Brandon and Graham passed on in disorder by Sugar Creek Church, until they ascended the hill near the Cross-Roads, where they formed and fronted. The enemy's infantry, which came before, and at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards halted and took to trees and fences, and commenced an irregular fire, for near a half hour, at long shot. Many of our men dismounted and fired in the same manner, but owing to the distance and the shelter of each, it is believed no damage was done on either side. Colonel Davie, with his main force, heard the firing distinctly, and knowing the enemy were coming on, sent an officer to apprise General Davidson, who drew up his men near the ford on Mallard's Creek, where the woods (being coppice) and deep ravines would protect him from the cavalry. Colonel Davie himself formed a mile and a half in his front, at a place called Sassafras Fields; from thence to the cross-roads, near three miles, was an open ridge with large timber (at that time scarcely any undergrowth being upon it), which was quite favorable for the action of cavalry. During the time the enemy had halted and kept up a desultory fire, he was making his arrangements near a small creek in his rear, by placing his best horses in front and sending about one hundred cavalry through the woods to his right, in order that they might come into and up the cross-road, so as to surround the party in his front. Their conduct indi-

cated some such movement would be attempted, and the reserve and others who joined them moved on. When they passed the cross-roads, that part of the enemy which debouched, were discovered coming up the road on their right, within thirty poles distance, and Major Hanger, with the remainder, the same distance in their rear, the whole about three hundred and fifty in number. When the two parties joined at the cross-roads, they came on at a brisk trot, and from that to a canter—as fast as they could preserve order, until they discovered the party before them was by their pursuit pressed out of order. They then charged at full speed. When the pursuit became close, near one-half took to the woods on each side of the road. The front troop of the enemy (commanded by Captain Stewart) pursued them, but the main body, commanded by Major Hanger, kept the road until they came in view of the place where Colonel Davie had formed at Sassafras Fields. Being much out of order by the pursuit, they collected their scattered troopers and returned to their Legion infantry and one other battalion, about eight hundred men in all, which accompanied the cavalry as far as the cross-roads, and remained there drawn up in position until their return. The main body had halted in Charlotte, whither the whole repaired about sunset.

On this day we lost Lient. Geo. Locke (son of Gen. Matt. Locke), who was literally cut to pieces in a most barbarous manner. The barrel of his rifle, with which he endeavored to shelter himself from their sabres, was cut in many places. He and two privates were killed, and Colonel Lindsay of Georgia, who served as a volunteer without any command, and Captain Graham and

ten others were wounded. Craham received nine wounds, three with ball and six with sabre, and was left on the ground as dead. The loss of the enemy could not be ascertained, but was believed to exceed ours. Afterwards two of their dead were found near to where Locke was killed and Graham wounded, one of whom was known to have been shot by Robert Ramsay of Rowan, at the time they charged. But they must have sustained the greatest damage in Charlotte. The enemy seemed to understand this Parthian kind of warfare, and manœvered with great skill—the cavalry and infantry supporting each other alternately as the nature of the ground or opposition seemed to require. They taught us a lesson of the kind which in several instances was practised against them before the end of the war. During the whole day, they committed nothing to hazard, except when the cavalry first charged up to the courthouse, and received a heavy fire in front and both flanks at the same time, which compelled them to retreat before their infantry were thrown forward on their flanks.

Had we omitted fighting on this day, kept our men and horses fresh (except a few to reconnoiter and give intelligence of the enemy's movements), and been in readiness to strike the foraging parties, which his new position would soon have compelled him to send out, and thus endeavored to take him by detail, it would have been better policy than with three or four hundred mounted militiamen, of whom not one-fourth were equipped as cavalry, attacking a regular army completely organized of ten times their number, in an open field, when every person was sure he would be beaten. The small damage sustained in proportion to the risk ap-

peared providential. Several of the British officers stated afterwards, if Colonel Tarleton had commanded their van, instead of Major Hanger, it would have been worse for us. General Davidson retired in the night to Phifer's plantation, twenty miles from Charlotte, and Colonel Davie behind Rocky River, sixteen miles from Charlotte, and four miles in front of Davidson.

The British army consisted of three brigades, besides the Legion infantry and cavalry and some Tories. The brigade on the right, commanded by Colonel Webster, encamped on the southeast of the court-house, forty poles from it, at right angles to the street leading to Polk's farm; which street passed through his center. The brigade commanded by Brigadier-General Lord Rawdon encamped across the street leading towards Salisbury, thirty poles from the court-house. His left came near Webster's right, and his line at right angles to him. The brigade commanded by Brigadier-General O'Hara, parallel to Webster, the same distance from the court-house on the opposite side, fronting towards the Catawba River. The cavalry, Legion infantry, Tories, etc., encamped across the street by which they came into the village. Their artillery, consisting of four pieces, was drawn up on the eminence around the court-house, so that their encampment was about eighty poles square, the court-house and artillery being nearly in the center. A chain of sentinels extended around the encampment at a small distance from it. Major McArthur was sent with a battalion to Blair's Mills, ten or twelve miles southeast of Charlotte, for the purpose of keeping up a correspondence with the Tories towards and beyond the Pee Dee, and collecting supplies



for the army. A guard of fifty men were stationed at Polk's Mill (now Wilson's), in two miles of Charlotte, which was kept grinding night and day for the army. On the 28th of September, Major Dickson set out from Colonel Davie with sixty men, made a circuit around Charlotte, and in the evening charged on this post. The garrison was vigilant, threw itself into a log house on the hill above the mill, and had loop-holes in the daubing and chinks to fire through. Major Dickson was repulsed, with the loss of one man killed and several horses wounded. Before the enemy got into the house, two were wounded, but after that they were secure, and the assailants, much exposed, withdrew.

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3. MCINTYRE'S FARM, OCTOBER 3, 1780.\*

After the British army had continued in Charlotte about a week, having consumed most of the forage and subsistence to be obtained in the vicinity, on the 3d of October, Lord Cornwallis ordered out a foraging party consisting of four hundred and fifty infantry, sixty cavalry, and about forty wagons, under the command of Major Doyle, which went up the road leading to Beattie's Ford on the Catawba River, intending to draw the supplies from the fertile settlements on Long Creek waters, eight or ten miles northwest of Charlotte. Capt. James Thompson and thirteen other men of the neighborhood, all being well acquainted with the whole region, excellent woodsmen and expert riflemen, had come together the day before. Anticipating the necessity the British would be under to forage, they had gone early in

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\* See also Gen. George Graham. Chapter II, Part I.

the morning to Mitchell's Mill (now Means'), three miles from Charlotte, at which place the corn was pulled (at most other places it was standing in the fields). They lay concealed at this place about an hour, when they heard the wagons and Doyle's party on their march up the great road on their right. Finding the enemy had passed on, they started through the woods parallel with the great road, and nearly half a mile from it, keeping an even pace with the detachment on the road. When Doyle's party arrived at McIntyre's farm, seven miles from Charlotte, after halting a short time, he left about one hundred men and ten wagons, with one of his captains, believed to be sufficient for the transportation of what could be procured at that place. The main body continued their march three or four miles to the farms further up. Captain Thompson and his party finding some were halted at McIntyre's, moved directly towards the thicket, down the spring branch two hundred yards from the house. A point of a rocky ridge covered with bushes passed obliquely from the road towards the spring and within fifty steps of the house, which sheltered them from the view or fire of the enemy until within that distance of him. Under this cover they deployed into a line ten or twelve feet apart, and advanced silently to their intended position. The British were much out of order, some at the barn throwing down oats for the wagons, others racing down the chickens, ducks and pigs; a squad robbing the bee-house, others pillaging the dwelling-house. A sentinel placed in the edge of the coppice, within a few steps of where they advanced, appeared to be alarmed, though he had not seen them. Captain Thompson shot him. This be-

ing the signal for the attack, each man, as he could get a view, took steady and deliberate aim before he fired at the distance of sixty or seventy steps. In two instances, when two aimed at the same man, when the first fired the man fell, and the second had to change and search for another object. The enemy immediately began to form and fire briskly. None of the party had time to load and fire a second shot except Captain Thompson and Bradley, who had fired first. The last shot of Captain Thompson was aimed at the captain of the party at the barn, one hundred and fifty yards distant. He died of the wound thus received two days afterwards, at the house of Samuel McCombs, in Charlotte. The party retreated through the thicket down the spring branch, which ran nearly parallel to the great road, and about thirty poles from it, for half a mile, where it enters what is called Carr's Creek, a branch of Long Creek. The enemy continued to fire briskly in proportion to their numbers, and ceased about the time Thompson's party arrived at this point. Here they halted and heard the noise of the main body under Major Doyle, who had just arrived at the place where they intended to load their wagons; when they heard the firing at McIntyre's and became alarmed; and were now hurrying back to support their friends. Thompson's party loaded their rifles, ascended the creek bottom, deployed as before under cover of a high bank parallel with the road and about forty yards from it. They had not been long at this station before the enemy's advance and some wagons came on. They severally fired, after deliberate aim, and then retreated down the creek. When the front of the enemy's columns arrived near the ford of the creek,

they formed and commenced a tremendous fire through the low ground, which continued until Thompson's party retreated half a mile. At the same time the cavalry divided, and one-half passed down each side of the creek. At the same time six or seven hounds came in full cry on the track of Thompson's party, and in about three-quarters of a mile came up with them, the British cavalry at the same time on their flanks on the high ground. One of the dogs was shot, and the others ceased to pursue or make any further noise. The face of the country being hilly and thickly covered with underbrush, Thompson's party escaped unhurt. The cavalry kept on their flanks until they arrived at the plantation of Robert Carr, Sr., where they appeared much enraged, and carried the old gentleman a prisoner to Charlotte, although he was seventy years of age.

Major Doyle's party moved on from the ford of the creek and formed a junction with those at McIntire's farm, took up their dead (eight) and wounded (twelve), put them in their wagons and retreated to Charlotte in great haste, not carrying more forage than could have been carried in two wagons. On their arrival they reported that they had found a "rebel in every bush after passing seven miles, in that direction."

It is believed that in the whole war the enemy did not sustain so great a loss, nor was he so completely disappointed in his objects by so few men. That out of thirty shot fired, twenty should do execution, is new in the history of war; and several of the party think, that every shot would have told, if they had each aimed at a different object, but two or more aiming at the same man occasioned the waste of those that failed.

## THE HEROES OF M'INTYRE'S FARM.

The names of this gallant band were

Capt. James Thompson, lived where Mr. Latta now does (since dead).

Frank Bradley, killed by four of Bryan's Tories eleven days after this.

James Henry, dead.

Thos. Dickson and John Dickson, moved to Tennessee, both living.

John Long, dead.

Robt. Robinson, Esq., living in Mecklenburg.

George Houston and Hugh Houston, moved to Kentucky, both living.

Thos. McClure, moved to Kentucky, living.

Gen. George Graham, Clerk of Mecklenburg Superior Court, living.

Edward Shipley and George Shipley, dead.

John Robinson, living on Crowder's Creek.

When the British were on their retreat from Charlotte, near Old Nation Ford, four of Bryan's men agreed to desert and go home by travelling in the night and lying in the thickets during the day; their names were John McCombs, Richard McCombs, —— Griffin, and —— Ridge. They had taken up in a thicket a mile from Bradley's on the morning of the 14th of October. About midday Bradley took his gun and went out to hunt some missing cattle, came on two of them, and began to question them, and finally took them prisoners. The other two, who had been lying about twenty steps off, and whom he had not seen, came behind him and seized him; a violent scuffle ensued, until one of them got his own gun and shot him dead. Bradley was a very

stout man, and without weapons would have been a match for all four of them; a man of cool and deliberate courage, much respected by all who knew him, and his death much regretted. A few weeks after his murderers went home, Richard McCombs and Griffin were killed, the others were taken and sent to Salisbury jail. On trial, John McCombs turned State's evidence, and from him this account was obtained; — Ridge was hanged.

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#### 4. GOVERNOR MARTIN'S PROCLAMATION.

The printed proclamation I obtained from an old German about five years past, near Vesuvius Furnace, say 1816 or 1817, and forwarded it by the hands of Dr. J. McK. Alexander to our Senator, N. Macon, Esq., who had written to me for such papers. I have heard it was reprinted in the newspapers thereafter, but never saw the reprint.

With the British army came to Charlotte Josiah Martin, the last Royal Governor of North Carolina. He had abdicated the State in the summer of 1775, and now brought with him a traveling printing press, which he set up in the village, and this being the first entrance of the British army into the State, he issued his proclamation and had a great number of copies printed, dated at "Headquarters, Charlotte, 3d day of October, 1780."

#### NORTH CAROLINA.

*By His Excellency Josiah Martin, His Majesty's Captain General, and Governor in Chief of the said Province, &c., &c., &c., &c.*

#### A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the King, ever anxious for the welfare and happiness of all his people, and sensible to the representations which have

been constantly made to him of the steady and unshaken loyalty and of the inviolable fidelity and attachment of his faithful subjects in this Province to his person and government; and confiding entirely in their repeated assurances to His Majesty of their own utmost exertions in cooperation with his armies whenever they should be directed to their support. And, Whereas His Majesty moved by these considerations, and by every the most tender and paternal feeling of concern, and regard for the sufferings and misery of his faithful people, under the intolerable yoke of arbitrary power, which his majesty, with indignation, sees imposed by the tyranny of the rebel Congress upon his freeborn subjects, hath been pleased to send an army to their aid and relief. I have therefore thought it proper, by this Proclamation, to inform his majesty's loyal and faithful subjects of this Province, of this great proof and instance of his majesty's gracious attention to them, and at the same time to advertise them that the royal army under the command of Lieut. Gen. Earl Cornwallis, is thus far advanced to their support, leaving it to themselves to compute its power and superiority from the great, signal, and complete victory which it obtained, when in force very inferior to its present strength, over the rebel army on the 16th of August. And whereas, while his majesty on the one hand, holds forth grace and mercy to his deluded subjects, who shall immediately, and with good faith, return to their duty, to which they have been invited in vain by every reason and argument, and by every consideration of interest, of freedom and happiness; he is determined on the other, to employ in the most vigorous and effectual manner the force of his arms, and the united strength of his faithful people, to restore and maintain to them that genuine liberty, peace and prosperity, which they formerly enjoyed in such full security under the mild government and protection of Great Britain, and to compel the disobedient to submission to the laws, and the participation of those blessings of a free constitution, which through ignorance, infatuation, delusion, blindness and fraud, they have been hitherto led to resist notwithstanding his majesty's most gracious and merciful endeavors to reclaim them. Having thus signified to the King's loyal and faithful subjects, the arrival and progress of his Majesty's army to their aid and support, which they are to evince the sincerity of their profession of loyalty and attachment; they are to consider themselves in this hour most seriously and solemnly called upon by every duty of the subject to the sovereign, and by every tie

and consideration of family, liberty and property, of present and future welfare and interest, with heart and hand to join and unite their strength with that of his majesty's force, in order to deliver themselves from that intolerable yoke of slavery and arbitrary power, which the tyranny of the Rebel Congress, lost to every sense of truth and virtue is evidently aiming to rivet upon them, by calling in the aid of the two Roman Catholic powers of France and Spain whose policy and incessant labor it has been for ages to subvert the civil and religious liberties of mankind, and to restore themselves to that state of perfect freedom, which is acknowledged throughout the world to be found only in the envied rights and conditions of British subjects: And whereas I have entire confidence, that it is the wish, inclination and ardent desire of his majesty's faithful and loyal subjects in this province to employ their strength on this great occasion, for the redemption of every thing that can be dear to men, in the way that is likely, most effectually and certainly to accomplish the great objects of peace and happiness which they have in view: I do hereby exhort and invite all the young and able bodied men to testify the reality of their loyalty and spirit, by enlisting in the Provincial Corps, which are forthwith to be raised and put under my command, as his majesty's Governor of the Province, hereby informing and assuring them, that they are, and will be required to serve only during the Rebellion, and within the Provinces of North and South Carolina and Virginia, under officers of their own recommendation; that each man will receive the bounty of three Guineas at the time of enlisting, and all the pay, clothing, appointments, allowances and encouragements of soldiers of his majesty's army, and will be entitled at the end of the rebellion, when they are to be discharged, to free grants of land. And I have such full assurance that his majesty's loyal and faithful subjects of this Province, will so clearly see the propriety and necessity of forming their strength upon this plan, which experience hath proved can alone render it effectual to the suppression of the tyranny which has for years past deprived them of every blessing, right and enjoyment of life, that I am confident their honest zest will lead them to contend and vie with each other in filling the respective battalions in which they shall chose to enlist, from a just sense on merit & applause that will be due to such as are soonest completed.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal of the said Province, at



Head-Quarters, in Charlotte Town, this third day of October, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and in the twentieth year of his Majesty's reign.

JO. MARTIN.

By his Excellency's command,

Rigdon Brice, P. Secy.

God save the King.

Four or five Tories were instantly sent off with proclamations among their friends on the west of the Catawba, the same number beyond the Pee Dee and other places. Subsequent events, which soon followed, prevented them from producing the effect intended.

#### FERGUSON'S EXPEDITION.

Before Cornwallis set out from Camden, he detached that noted partisan, Colonel Ferguson, with one hundred and fifty regulars and the same number of Tories, three hundred in all, with a large stock of spare arms and ammunition, over Broad River, seventy or eighty miles to the west. His manifest object was to arouse, arm and equip his numerous friends in that quarter, who it was known would join him as soon as an organized force of their own party came near them. Another object was to disperse or destroy several parties of the Whigs who occasionally molested foraging parties at the posts of Ninety-Six and Augusta. Ferguson was indefatigable in carrying out the views of his General. Great numbers flocked to his standard, whom, as fast as they came in, he armed and organized into companies.

An unsuccessful attempt made by Colonel Clark to take Augusta, induced Ferguson to move further to the west than was intended, in order to intercept their return. But in this he was disappointed. After various movements in different directions, his numbers still in-

creasing, he arrived at Gilbertstown (near where Rutherfordton now stands), on the 4th of October, his whole force amounting to thirteen hundred men, well armed with rifles and muskets, and plentifully supplied with ammunition. It was usual for riflemen to carry a large knife in a scabbard, appended to the front strap of the shot-bag, across the breast. Colonel Ferguson (who originally was an officer in a rifle corps) invented the following plan. He had about two inches of the butt end of the handle of the knife made small enough to go in the muzzle of the rifle, to be used as a bayonet, which was done in battle. On the next day, the 5th of October, he received intelligence from some of the Tories coming to join him, of a large force marching against him under the command of Colonels Campbell, Cleveland, Shelby, Williams, the McDowells, etc. Colonel Ferguson, sensible of the approaching danger from the numbers and kind of forces in pursuit of him, immediately decided on endeavoring to reach Charlotte, or, if that should not be practicable, to get within supporting distance of that place. He ordered a march, delaying himself a few minutes to write to Cornwallis, apprising him of his situation and the course he was pursuing, and soliciting immediate assistance. He sent it by two Tories, with orders to proceed without delay to Charlotte. The noted Abraham Collins, of counterfeiting memory, was one, the name of the other was Quinn.

For an account of the next movements and the battle of King's Mountain, I refer to the various histories, though I am informed by several who were in the action that the accounts of it are not accurate. I have been promised a correct account by persons who were there,

but I have not yet obtained it. It is well known that the party who attacked, vested the chief command in Colonel Campbell, who fixed the plan of attack and gave all orders until the battle commenced; further a Major Chronicle, a young man of great promise, who commanded about eighty of the few good Whigs in Lincoln County, was killed while bravely leading his men up the hill. Of him no mention is made in history. Others of his command fell. He was buried on the spot, and some four or five years ago a large assemblage of citizens collected, had an appropriate oration delivered by Dr. MacLean, and a stone erected at the place, with a suitable inscription commemorative of his death and of the battle. I being in the hospital during these transactions, have no personal knowledge of them, except as derived from others.

Lord Cornwallis had due notice of, and was doubtless much gratified with the prospect of Ferguson's progress and success in recruiting. With Major McArthur on his right and Ferguson on his left in such force, he expected to be able in a short time to move on and concentrate at Salisbury or some point near the center of the State. But owing to the spirit of this part of the country, and the vigilance of General Davidson and Colonel Davie, he could not learn the force or the disposition of the troops collecting in his front. He did not receive Ferguson's express from Gilbertstown until the morning of the 7th. The messengers, who had to pass through the Whig settlements on Crowder's Creek, narrowly escaped being taken. They had to lie by in the day and travel in the night, and by this means were detained. On the day he received the express, Cornwallis ordered Tarleton's

cavalry to go with the bearers, who were to serve as guides, to Ferguson's aid. The ford at which they had crossed was Armour's, near the mouth of the South Fork of the Catawba; it was deep and somewhat difficult to find, which being represented to Colonel Tarleton, he sent for Matthew Knox, an old man nearly seventy residing hard by, to show them the way over. They arrived at the ford a little before sunset; the water had risen considerably since the express had passed. The old man knew this, but said nothing about it, only giving them directions how the ford ran. The advance, about twenty in number, went in, but before they had gone twenty steps, they were swimming; after much difficulty they got out, on the same shore; some nearly drowned. They were much enraged with Mr. Knox, threatening to "cut the old rebel to pieces," but the commander protected him. They repaired to a neighboring farm and encamped until morning, by which time the river had fallen so as to be passable, and they were about to go over, when they met two men who had been in the battle of King's Mountain, and gave Tarleton information of the destruction of Ferguson's army, and he hastened back to Charlotte.

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5. LORD CORNWALLIS RETREATS FROM CHARLOTTE IN THE EVENING OF THE 9TH OF OCTOBER.

Whatever his Lordship's plans might have been hitherto, they were now deranged, and instead of occupying more of the country, he decided on abandoning a part of what he already had in order to secure the rest. The many posts that he had garrisoned necessarily dimin-

ished his field force, and this, with the loss of Ferguson's command, induced him to adopt this course. Calculating on the probability that the men who had destroyed Ferguson might either form a junction with those in front, and attack him, or strike at his post of Ninety-Six, which was beyond protecting distance in his present advanced position, and, further, knowing that he had consumed all the subsistence for man and beast in the village and that it was unsafe to forage on account of such bands as the fourteen men who handled Doyle's party so roughly at McIntyre's farm, and that several of his sentinels had been shot on their posts near the lines, and those who did it escaping with impunity, this knowledge caused him to abandon this hostile district. In one hour after Tarleton's return, having examined the men who escaped from the battle of King's Mountain, he gave orders to march the same evening. The day before he marched from Charlotte, a sentinel was shot down, buried on the same spot, and a board placed at the head of the grave, on which was stuck a half-sheet of paper with this inscription in large letters: "This is murder; we will retaliate." The inscription was signed by The Light Infantry.

The British army left Charlotte about sunset on the 9th of October, and took the road leading to the Old Nation Ford on the Catawba. They had with them as a guide William McCafferty (an Irishman), who had done business as a merchant in Charlotte for some years. When the British army came, he stayed to endeavor to save his property. McCafferty led them by the road to the right about two miles below Charlotte, which goes to Park's Mill (now Barnett's). When they got near that

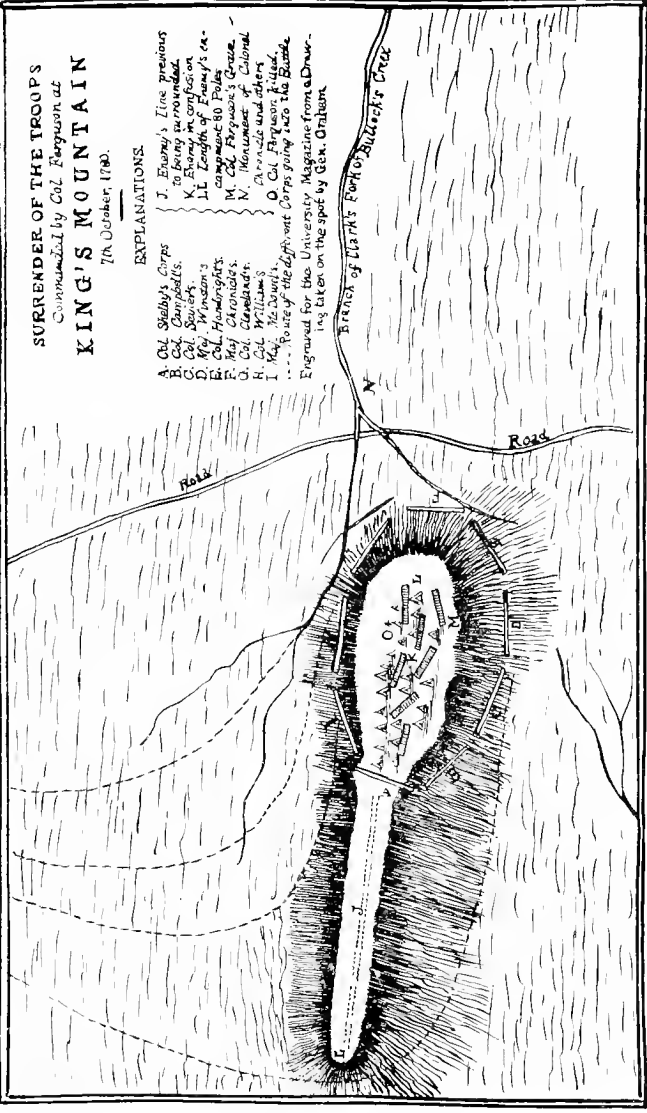
place, he suggested that they were on the wrong road, and that he must ride a little out of the way to the left to find the right one. When he got a short distance from them, he wheeled about, as he well knew the country, and left them. The scene of confusion and disorder which succeeded among them is not easily described. They were two miles to the right of the road that they intended to go; the night was dark, and being near Cedar Creek, they were intercepted by high hills and deep ravines. They attempted at different places to file to their left along by-ways, in order to reach the main road; but finally most of them got into the woods, were separated into parties, and kept hallooing to find which way their comrades had gone. By midnight they were three or four miles apart, and appeared to be panic struck, lest the Americans should come upon them in that situation. They did not concentrate until noon the next day, about seven miles from Charlotte. Owing to the difficult passes they took, the darkness of the night, and the scare upon them, they left behind them forty wagons and considerable booty, which was found dispersed, for the most part, near Park's Mill. When McCafferty left them, he rode nearly all night, and arriving at Colonel Davie's encampment early next morning, communicated the information of their retreat. Davie immediately marched on through Charlotte, and sent a reconnoitering party forward, which came in view of the British about the time they came together and began to move. Spies kept in view of them for three or four miles, continually reporting to Colonel Davie that their rear guard was composed of nearly half their cavalry, and marching in close order. Finding that no advantage could be taken

of them in that manner, Davie turned to the left, where the road enters the Indian Lands (which at that time were woods and unsettled), passed up their left flank at a distance of three-fourths of a mile from the road (his spies viewing them at every favorable position), and marched for four miles, but the enemy's march was so condensed and in such perfect order, that it was impossible to attack them without encountering at the same time their whole army. In the afternoon he returned to the settlements of Sugar Creek; and the British proceeded on their way by slow marches. It was rainy weather, and the roads bad, and they did not have sufficient teams for the transportation of their baggage, after the loss of the forty wagons during their panic, as above stated. In ten or twelve days they arrived at Winnsboro, not more than seventy miles distant. There their headquarters were continued for some time, it being a convenient place for supporting their posts of Camden and Ninety-Six, if either should be attacked.

**SURRENDER OF THE TROOPS**  
 Commanded by Col. Ferguson at  
**KING'S MOUNTAIN**  
 7th October, 1780.

**EXPLANATIONS.**

- A. Col. Shelby's Corps
- B. Col. Campbell's
- C. Col. Swain's
- D. Col. Mendenhall's
- E. Col. Hume's
- F. Col. Williams's
- G. Col. McDowell's
- H. Col. Williams's
- I. Col. McDowell's
- J. Col. Ferguson's
- K. Col. Ferguson's
- L. Col. Ferguson's
- M. Col. Ferguson's
- N. Col. Ferguson's
- O. Col. Ferguson's
- P. Col. Ferguson's
- Q. Col. Ferguson's
- R. Col. Ferguson's
- S. Col. Ferguson's
- T. Col. Ferguson's
- U. Col. Ferguson's
- V. Col. Ferguson's
- W. Col. Ferguson's
- X. Col. Ferguson's
- Y. Col. Ferguson's
- Z. Col. Ferguson's
- AA. Col. Ferguson's
- BB. Col. Ferguson's
- CC. Col. Ferguson's
- DD. Col. Ferguson's
- EE. Col. Ferguson's
- FF. Col. Ferguson's
- GG. Col. Ferguson's
- HH. Col. Ferguson's
- II. Col. Ferguson's
- JJ. Col. Ferguson's
- KK. Col. Ferguson's
- LL. Col. Ferguson's
- MM. Col. Ferguson's
- NN. Col. Ferguson's
- OO. Col. Ferguson's
- PP. Col. Ferguson's
- QQ. Col. Ferguson's
- RR. Col. Ferguson's
- SS. Col. Ferguson's
- TT. Col. Ferguson's
- UU. Col. Ferguson's
- VV. Col. Ferguson's
- WW. Col. Ferguson's
- XX. Col. Ferguson's
- YY. Col. Ferguson's
- ZZ. Col. Ferguson's
- AAA. Col. Ferguson's
- BBB. Col. Ferguson's
- CCC. Col. Ferguson's
- DDD. Col. Ferguson's
- EEE. Col. Ferguson's
- FFF. Col. Ferguson's
- GGG. Col. Ferguson's
- HHH. Col. Ferguson's
- III. Col. Ferguson's
- JJJ. Col. Ferguson's
- KKK. Col. Ferguson's
- LLL. Col. Ferguson's
- MMM. Col. Ferguson's
- NNN. Col. Ferguson's
- OOO. Col. Ferguson's
- PPP. Col. Ferguson's
- QQQ. Col. Ferguson's
- RRR. Col. Ferguson's
- SSS. Col. Ferguson's
- TTT. Col. Ferguson's
- UUU. Col. Ferguson's
- VVV. Col. Ferguson's
- WWW. Col. Ferguson's
- XXX. Col. Ferguson's
- YYY. Col. Ferguson's
- ZZZ. Col. Ferguson's
- AAA. Col. Ferguson's
- BBB. Col. Ferguson's
- CCC. Col. Ferguson's
- DDD. Col. Ferguson's
- EEE. Col. Ferguson's
- FFF. Col. Ferguson's
- GGG. Col. Ferguson's
- HHH. Col. Ferguson's
- III. Col. Ferguson's
- JJJ. Col. Ferguson's
- KKK. Col. Ferguson's
- LLL. Col. Ferguson's
- MMM. Col. Ferguson's
- NNN. Col. Ferguson's
- OOO. Col. Ferguson's
- PPP. Col. Ferguson's
- QQQ. Col. Ferguson's
- RRR. Col. Ferguson's
- SSS. Col. Ferguson's
- TTT. Col. Ferguson's
- UUU. Col. Ferguson's
- VVV. Col. Ferguson's
- WWW. Col. Ferguson's
- XXX. Col. Ferguson's
- YYY. Col. Ferguson's
- ZZZ. Col. Ferguson's



Engraved for the University Magazine from a Drawing taken on the spot by Gen. Gratton





## CHAPTER V.

## BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN.

The writer of these sketches being in the hospital at the time of the battle of King's Mountain, did not participate in that action, and in his memoranda for Judge Murphey, in 1820-1-2, he furnished only the brief notices of some of its incidents. But being intimately acquainted with many intelligent actors in the engagement, he afterwards made himself familiar with all the details of the expedition; visited the battle-ground in company with some of the actors, made a diagram, illustrative of the battle from personal survey, and prepared an account of it, which, after his death, was published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*. The diagram is copied, with an acknowledgment of the authorship, in Ramsey's History of Tennessee, and the account is believed to have given much the most full and satisfactory narrative of the affair that had appeared at the period of its publication. It is copied by Dr. Foote as a chapter in his sketches of North Carolina; and our design being to present in a connected series, according to chronology, the writer's contributions to the Revolutionary history of the State, we here insert it with the diagram, and then resume the Murphey memoranda.—Ed.

After the defeat of General Gates and the army under his command, on the 16th of August, 1780, and the defeat of General Sumter two days afterwards, near Rocky

Mount, by Colonel Tarleton, the South was almost entirely abandoned to the enemy. Most of the troops, both officers and men, who had escaped from Gates' defeat, passed through Charlotte, N. C., where most of the militia of Mecklenburg County were assembled, in consequence of the alarm. The regular troops chiefly passed on to Hillsboro, where General Gates finally established his headquarters. William L. Davidson, who had served as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regulars in the Northern Army, was appointed Brigadier-General of the militia in the Salisbury district, in the place of General Rutherford, who had been taken prisoner at Gates' defeat. He formed a brigade and encamped on McAlpin's Creek, about eight miles below Charlotte, and in the course of two or three weeks was reinforced by General Sumner (a Continental officer), but having no Regulars to command, he took command of the militia from the counties of Guilford, Caswell, Orange, etc.

After Gates' defeat, the attention of Lord Cornwallis was chiefly occupied with burying the dead, taking care of the wounded, and forwarding, under suitable guards, the great number of prisoners he had taken to the city of Charleston, and regulating the civil government he was establishing in South Carolina, and examining the state of the posts occupied by his troops on the Congaree, Ninety-Six and Augusta. By the 1st of September, he had his arrangements made, and detached Colonel Ferguson over the Wateree with only one hundred and ten regulars, under the command of Captain Depeyster, and about the same number of Tories, but with an ample supply of arms and other military stores. His move-

ments were at first rapid, endeavoring to intercept the retreat of a party of mountain men, who were harassing the upper settlements of Tories in South Carolina. Failing in this, he afterwards moved slowly, and frequently halted to collect all the Tories he could persuade to join him. He passed Broad River, and before the last of September encamped at a place called Gilbertstown, within a short distance of where the thriving village of Rutherfordton now stands.

His forces had increased to upwards of one thousand men. On his march to this place, he had furnished arms to such of his new recruits as were without them. The greater number of them had rifles, but a part of them had to fix a large knife they usually carried, made small enough at the butt-end for two inches or more of the handle to slip into the muzzle of the rifle, so that it might occasionally be used as a bayonet.

Although Colonel Ferguson failed to overtake the detachment of mountain men alluded to, he took two of them prisoners, who had become separated from their comrades. In a day or two he paroled them, and enjoined them to inform the officers on the western waters that if they did not desist from their opposition to the British arms, and take protection under his standard, that he would march his army over the mountains, hang their leaders, and lay the country waste with fire and sword.

Col. Charles McDowell, of Burke County, on the approach of Ferguson with so large a force, had gone over the mountains to obtain assistance, and was in consultation with Col. John Sevier and Col. Isaac Shelby as to what plan should be pursued, when the two paroled men

spoken of arrived and delivered their message from Colonel Ferguson.

It was decided that each of them should use his best efforts to raise all the men that could be enlisted; and that their forces, when collected, should meet on the Watauga, on the 25th of September. It was also agreed that Colonel Shelby should give intelligence of their movements to Col. William Campbell, of the adjoining county of Washington, in Virginia, with the hope that he would raise what force he could and co-operate with them.

They met at Watauga the day appointed, and passed the mountain on the 30th of September, where they were joined by Col. Benjamin Cleveland and Maj. Joseph Winston, from Wilkes and Surry counties.

On examining their forces, they were found to number as follows:

From Washington county, Va., under Col. Wil. Campbell.....	400
From Sullivan county, N. C., under Col. Isaac Shelby.....	240
From Washington, N. C., under Col. John Sevier.....	240
From Burke and Rutherford counties, N. C., under Col. Charles McDowell .....	160
From Wilkes and Surry counties, N. C., under Col. Benj. Cleveland and Maj. James Winston.....	350
Total .....	1,390

Colonel Ferguson having accurate intelligence of the force collecting against him, early on the 4th of October, ordered his men to march, and remained half an hour after they had started, writing a dispatch to Lord Cornwallis, no doubt informing him of his situation, and soliciting aid. The letter was committed to the care of the noted Abraham Collins (since of counterfeit memory), and another person by the name of Quinn, with

injunctions to deliver it as soon as possible. They set out and attempted to pass the direct road to Charlotte, but having to pass through some Whig settlements, they were suspected and pursued, and being compelled to secrete themselves by day and travel by night, they did not reach Charlotte until the morning of the 7th of October (the day of the battle). Colonel Ferguson encamped the first night at the noted place called the Cowpens, about twenty miles from Gilbertstown. On the 5th of October, he crossed Broad River, at what is now called Deer's Ferry, sixteen miles. On the 6th, he marched up the Ridge Road, between the waters of the King's and Buffalo creeks, until he came to the fork turning to the right across King's Creek, and through a gap of the mountain towards Yorkville, about fourteen miles. Then he encamped on the summit of that part of the mountain to the right of the road, where he remained until he was attacked on the 7th.

When the troops from the different counties met at the head of the Catawba River, the commanding officers met, and finding that they were all of equal grade, and no general officer to command, it was decided that Col. Charles McDowell should go to headquarters, supposed to be between Charlotte and Salisbury, to obtain General Sumner or General Davidson to take the command. In the meantime, it was agreed that Col. William Campbell, who had the largest regiment, should take the command until the arrival of a general officer, who was to act according to the advice of the colonels commanding, and that Maj. Joseph McDowell should take the command of the Burke and Rutherford regiment until the return of Colonel McDowell.

Shortly after these measures were adopted, intelligence was received that Colonel Ferguson had left Gilbertstown, and it was decided that they would march after him, by that place, and on their way received evidence that it was his design to evade an engagement with them. On the evening of the 4th of October, the colonels in council unanimously resolved that they would select all the men and horses fit for service and immediately pursue Ferguson until they should overtake him, leaving such as were not able to go, to come after as they could. The next evening the selection was made, and nine hundred and ten men, including officers, were marched before, leaving the others to follow.

They came to the Cowpens, where Ferguson had encamped on the night of the 5th, and there met Colonel Williams, of South Carolina, with near four hundred men, and about sixty from Lincoln County, who had joined them on their march, under Colonel Hambright and Major Chronicle. After drawing rations of beef, the whole proceeded on, a little before sunset, taking Ferguson's trail towards Deer's Ferry, on Broad River. Night coming on, and being very dark, their pilot got out of the right way, and for some time they were lost; but before daylight they reached near the ferry, and by direction of the officers, the pilot led them to the Cherokee Ford, about a mile and a half below, as it was not known but the enemy might be in possession of the eastern bank of the river. It was on the morning of the 7th, before sunrise, when they crossed the river, and marched about two miles to the place where Ferguson had encamped on the night of the 5th.

There they halted a short time, and took such breakfast as their wallets and saddlebags could afford. The day was showery, and they were obliged to use their blankets and greatcoats to protect their arms from wet. They passed on a dozen of miles without seeing any person; at length, they met a lad, in an old field, by the name of Fonderin, about twelve or fourteen years of age, who had a brother and other relations in Ferguson's camp, and who was directly from it, within less than three miles. A halt was ordered, and the colonels met in consultation. Several persons knew the ground well on which the enemy was encamped, agreeably to the information given by the boy of their position. The plan of battle was immediately settled, that the force should be nearly equally divided, and one-half should take to the right, cross over and occupy the southeast side of the mountain, and the other should advance to the northwest side, and that each division would move forward until they formed a junction, when all should face to the front and press upon the enemy up the sides of the mountain. Orders were given to prepare for battle by laying aside every incumbrance, examining well their arms, and guarding against alarm. The orders were speedily obeyed, and they moved forward over King's Creek, and up a branch and ravine, and between two rocky knobs, which, when they had passed, the top of the mountain and the enemy's camp upon it, were in full view, about one hundred poles in front. Here they halted and tied their horses, leaving the necessary guard with them. It was now three o'clock in the afternoon.

The enemy's camp was to the right of the road, seventy or eighty poles in length, and on the summit of the



mountain, which at this place runs nearly northeast and southwest (the shadow of the timber at half-past one p. m. ranges with it). The troops were led on in the following order: To the right, Major Winston, Colonel Sevier, Colonel Campbell, Colonel Shelby and Major McDowell; to the left, Colonel Hambright, Colonel Cleveland, and Colonel Williams, of South Carolina.

Each division moved on steadily to the place assigned to them in the order of battle. Some of the regiments suffered much under galling fire of the enemy before they were in a position to engage in the action. Some complaints began to be uttered that it would never do to be shot down without returning the fire. Colonel Shelby replied, "Press on to your places, and then your fire will not be lost."

The men led by Shelby and McDowell were soon closely engaged, and the contest from the first was very severe. Williams and Cleveland were soon in their places, and with the utmost energy engaged the foe. Ferguson, finding that the end of his line was giving way, ordered forward his regulars and riflemen, with bayonets, and made a furious charge upon Shelby and McDowell, charging down the mountain some two hundred yards. A united and destructive fire soon compelled him to order his party back to the top of the mountain.

To ward off the deadly attack from Colonel Williams, Ferguson again charged with fury down the mountain. When Shelby's men saw this, they raised the cry, "Come on men, the enemy is retreating." They rallied by the time Ferguson returned from the charge against the South Carolinians, renewed their fire with great resolu-

tion. Ferguson again charged upon Shelby, but not so far as before. Colonel Williams' men, in turn, called out, "The enemy is retreating; come on, men."

At this stage of the action, Hambright and Winston had met, and a brisk fire was poured upon Ferguson's men all around the mountain. As he would advance towards Campbell, Sevier, Winston and Hambright, he was pursued by Shelby, McDowell, Williams and Cleveland. When he would turn his forces against the latter, the former would press on in pursuit. Thus he struggled on, making charges and retreats, but his left was rapidly losing ground. His men were rapidly falling before the skillful aim and unbending courage of the Whigs. Even after being wounded, he fought on with courage. He made every effort that could be done by a brave and skillful officer, according to his position. At length he was shot dead, and his whole command driven up into a group of sixty yards in length and not forty in width.

The British officer, Captain Depeyster, who took the command, ordered a white flag to be raised in token of surrender, but the bearer was instantly shot down. He soon had another raised, and called out for quarter. Colonel Shelby demanded, if they surrendered, why they did not lay down their arms. It was instantly done.

But still the firing was continued, until Shelby and Sevier went inside the lines and ordered the men to cease. Some who kept it up, would call out, "Give them Buford's play." Alluding to Colonel Buford's defeat by Tarleton, where no quarters were given. A guard was placed over the prisoners, and all remained on the mountain during the night.

The party which led the left wing under Colonel Ham-bright suffered very much, having to pass very difficult ground to reach their place of destination, and within eighty yards of the enemy's marksmen. Colonel Ham-bright was wounded, and Major Chronicle was killed. Colonel Williams, of South Carolina, a brave and efficient officer, was also killed. The loss of the Whigs was not exactly ascertained, but believed to be about thirty killed and fifty wounded. The enemy had about one hundred and fifty killed, and all the rest taken prisoners.

On the morning of the 8th, a court-martial was held. Several of the prisoners who were found guilty of murder and other high crimes, were sentenced to be hanged. About twenty were executed.

At the forks of the branch where Major Chronicle and Captain Mattocks were buried, a monument was erected. On the east side is the following inscription :

“Sacred to the memory of Maj. William Chronicle and Capt. John Mattocks, William Rabb and John Boyd, who were killed at this place on the 7th of October, 1780, fighting in defence of America.”

Inscribed on the western side of said monument, facing the battle-ground :

“Colonel Ferguson, an officer of His British Majesty, was defeated and killed at this place on the 7th of October, 1780.”

COLN. JOHN WILLIAMS' TROOPS.

Col. Williams force was recruited by funds furnished by the State of North Carolina. In the North Carolina Legislature (Senate) on November 7th, 1788, there was introduced the Memorial and petition of Jno. Williams setting forth that his father James Williams, late of South Carolina was, in the year 1780, intrusted with a considerable sum of money to be applied to the use of this State and that by reason of death and other unavoidable accidents he cannot account for disbursement and application and praying direction of the Legislature. Mr. Thomas Person, Chairman of the Committee on Propositions and Grievances in the House of Commons, November 20th, submitting the following report :

The committee to whom the petition of John Williams, eldest surviving son of

James Williams, of S. C., deceased, was referred, report that by a resolution of the General Assembly passed at Hillsboro in 1780 the said petitioner's father James Williams was authorized to draw the sum of \$25,000 from the Treasury of the State conditioned that the money should be applied in raising troops for the defense of this State then invaded by the British Army, that your committee are induced to believe that the money was applied to that particular business as he was soon after the reception thereof, seen in action at the Battle of King's Mountain at the head of three or four hundred men where he gloriously fell. Your committee therefore beg leave that a resolution be passed releasing and acquitting the said James Williams, his heirs, executors or administrators from the aforesaid draft.

The following was adopted by the Legislature:

Resolved, That the estate of James Williams, deceased, late of the State of S. C. be released and acquitted from the payment of \$25,000 advanced to the said deceased in his life-time by this State for the purpose of raising men for the defense of this and the United States, it having been manifested to this Assembly that he was in action at the Battle of King's Mountain where he headed three or four hundred men and in which action he gloriously fell, a sacrifice to liberty.

Col. Williams was a citizen of Granville county and afterwards moved to South Carolina. Gov. Nash gave him authority to raise a force not exceeding one hundred men in North Carolina. Draper, in his *Heroes of King's Mountain*, states that all of Williams' original force was recruited in Rowan County, North Carolina. He joined Campbells troops at the Catawba river; he had with him Chronicle, Hambright and their troops from Lincoln county who probably united with him as he passed through their section as he would have done in marching from Charlotte to Cowpens.—Ed.

## CHAPTER VI.

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1. REORGANIZATION OF GATES' ARMY.
  2. GENERAL GREENE ASSUMES COMMAND.
  3. BATTLE OF COWAN'S FORD (with map) ROUTE TO SALISBURY AND TRADING FORD.
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## 1. REORGANIZATION OF GATES' ARMY.

When the shattered remains of Gates' army arrived at Hillsboro, it was re-organized, and a corps of light infantry formed and placed under the command of General Morgan, who had just arrived from the North. This corps and the cavalry under Colonel Washington were despatched westward, and reached Salisbury about the time the British army left Charlotte. They came and formed a junction with General Davidson, and moved in advance of Charlotte twelve miles, and encamped on Six-mile Creek, where they remained for some time. General Smallwood afterwards arrived and took the command.\* The cavalry under Colonel Davie, and infantry under General Davidson, whose term of service expired in November, returned home. Towards the end of November, General Gates arrived with the remains of his army, at Charlotte, and recalled the commands of Smallwood and Morgan to that place. Nothing of consequence now occurred in this quarter, except the cap-

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\*The Journal of the Board of War of North Carolina, established about this time, and holding its sessions at Hillsboro, affords much information respecting events of this period. It there appears, that Brig. Gen. Smallwood of the Maryland line, was by the Legislature, then sitting at the same place, created a Maj. Gen. and requested to take command of our State Militia at that time in service, a proceeding which offended the sensibilities of various officers and caused Gen. Sumner, to retire temporarily from the service.

ture of Colonel Rugely's party by Colonel Washington, with the pine log, so well related by all the historians.

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## 2. GENERAL GREENE ASSUMES COMMAND.

General Greene arrived at Charlotte early in December and took command of the Southern army. He discovered that the country where the army now lay, though fertile and well cultivated, was much exhausted by being so long occupied by both armies, and decided on making a new disposition of his forces. He ordered General Morgan, with the light infantry under Colonel Howard, and the cavalry under Colonel Washington, together with what volunteer militia could be collected, to cross the Catawba and Broad Rivers and occupy a position nearly equidistant from the British headquarters and their post of Ninety-Six. General Greene, with the main army, set out and took up a position beyond Pee Dee, seventy miles to the east; it being convenient for raising supplies of provisions and forage; calculating that if the enemy should advance again, the the people of Mecklenburg and Rowan, between the Catawba and Yadkin, acting as heretofore, would answer the purpose of a central army.

Lord Cornwallis continued at Winnsboro waiting for reinforcements under General Leslie, and stores from Charleston. Ascertaining the security of the posts occupied by his detachments, and getting accurate information of the disposition made of his troops, by his adversary, he broke up his encampment at Winnsboro early in January, 1781, and sent a strong detachment

under Colonel Tarleton against General Morgan, and at the same time, with his main army, advanced by slow movements between the Catawba and Broad Rivers.

The movement before the battle of the Cowpens and the action itself are well described by the historians.

As soon as General Davidson was advised of the British army again advancing, he ordered out the next detachment which was detailed for duty from the counties (the counties then composing one brigade, commanded first by Rutherford and then by Davidson, were the old Superior Court Districts of Salisbury and Morgan, now composing the fourth and fifth divisions of North Carolina militia, whose returns of effective men at this time (1821) exceed twenty thousand) under his command to rendezvous between Charlotte and the Catawba River. On the 19th of January, he received information of Tarleton's defeat at Cowpens. On the 21st, a party of twenty Whigs who lived in the country southeast of the Cowpens (but had not been in the fight) brought into our camp twenty-eight prisoners, British stragglers, whom they had taken, most of whom were wounded; they were sent on eastwardly the same day. General Davidson being advised of the rapid advance of the British army, and the troops joining him being all infantry, and General Greene having appointed Colonel Davie to superintend the commissariat department, directed Adjutant Graham, who had now recovered of his wounds received in advance of Charlotte on the 26th September, to raise a company of cavalry, promising that those who furnished their own horses and equipments and served six weeks, should be considered as having served a tour of three months, the term of duty

required by law. In a few days he succeeded in raising a company of fifty-six, mostly enterprising young men who had seen service, but found it difficult to procure arms. Only forty-five swords could be produced, and one-half of them were made by the country blacksmiths. Only fifteen had pistols, but they all had rifles. They carried the muzzle in a small boot, fastened beside the right stirrup-leather, and the butt ran through the shot-bag belt, so that the lock came directly under the right arm. Those who had a pistol, carried it swung by a strap about the size of a bridle rein on the left side, over the sword, which was belted higher than the modern mode of wearing them, so as not to entangle the legs when acting on foot. They had at all times all their arms with them, whether on foot or on horseback, and could act as infantry or cavalry, and move individually or collectively, as emergencies might require. With those arms, and mounted generally on strong and durable horses, with a pair of saddle-bags for the convenience of the rider, and a wallet of provender for his horse, they were ready for service, without commissary, quartermaster, or other staff.

After the battle of Cowpens, Lord Cornwallis was nearer the crossings on the Catawba than General Morgan, and continuing to move up the country, compelled Morgan to take a circuit around him. From the 24th of January until the 3d of February, Cornwallis was seldom more than twenty miles from Morgan, and sometimes not half so far, and kept moving parallel to him; but never came into his trail until within sixteen miles of Salisbury on the 3d of February.\*

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\*Gen. Morgan, as soon as his pursuers and prisoners were collected, marched over the Island Ford on Broad River, and up past Gilbertstown. Here he de-



On the 24th of January, Cornwallis reached Ramsour's, and encamped on the hill where the battle had been fought with the Tories on the 20th June preceding. Here he remained one day, either to ascertain in what direction to search for General Morgan, or to afford his numerous friends an opportunity to join him.

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### 3. THE BATTLE OF COWAN'S FORD.

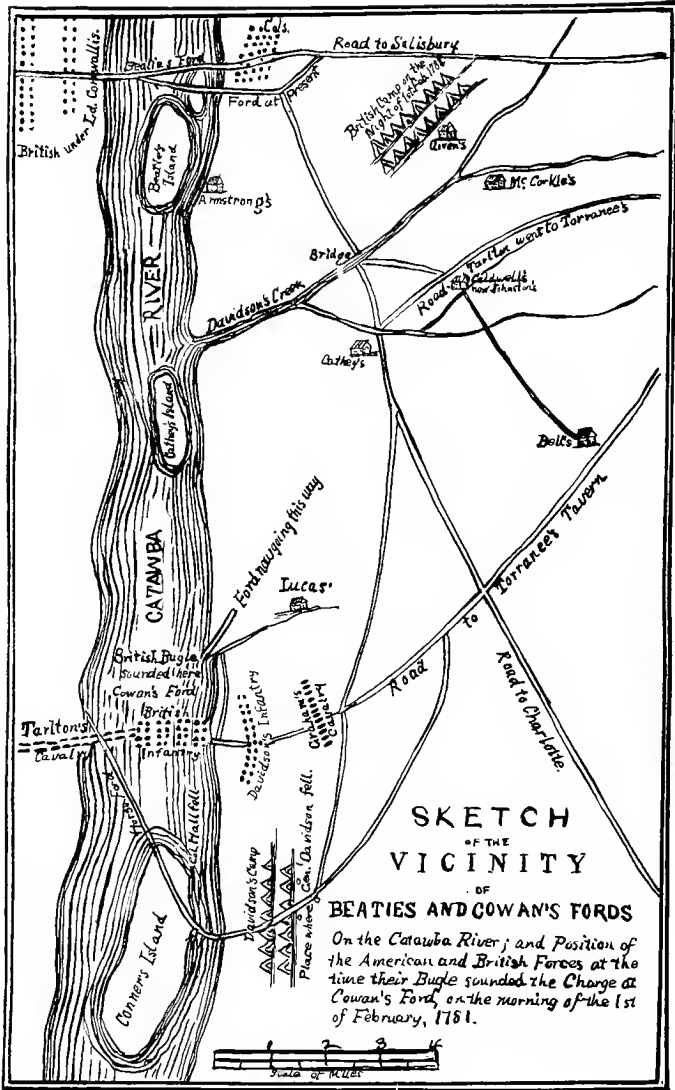
General Davidson, finding the enemy approaching so near, divided those under his command in order to guard the different fords on the Catawba. At Tuckasege Ford, on the road leading from Ramsour's to Charlotte, he placed two hundred men under Col. John Williams, of Surry, at Tool's Ford, seventy men under Captain Potts, of Mecklenburg, at Cowan's Ford, twenty-five men under Lieut. Thos. Davidson, of Mecklenburg. At Tuckasege and Tool's fords, trees were felled in the road, and a ditch dug and parapet made. There were no such defences at the other fords. With his greatest force, and Graham's cavalry, he took post at Beattie's Ford, on the road from Ramsour's to Salisbury, being twenty miles above Colonel Williams. On the 30th, the cavalry were despatched over the river, and ascertained that the enemy were encamped within four miles. Within two miles they discovered one hundred of their

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tached the greater part of his Militia and a part of Washington's Cavalry with the prisoners. The detachment took the Cane Creek road through the ledge of mountains, which divide the heads of the South Fork from the main Catawba, and down that river past where Morganton now stands and crossed the Catawba at the Island Ford. At the Ford Washington's Cavalry left the prisoners with the Militia and joined Morgan on his march to the east.

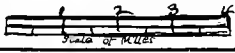
The above note, by the writer, solves a question, on which there has been some confusion, and contradictory statements, to-wit: whether Morgan crossed the Catawba at the Island Ford or Sherrill's Ford. It is here shown, that the detachment of his force, with the prisoners crossed, at the former but it will presently appear in the next text, that he himself, with his immediate command passed at Sherrill's Ford.





**SKETCH**  
OF THE  
**VICINITY**  
OF  
**BEATIES AND COWAN'S FORDS**

On the Catawba River; and Position of the American and British Forces at the time their Bugle sounded the Charge at Cowan's Ford, on the morning of the 1st of February, 1781.



cavalry, who followed them to the river, but kept at a respectful distance. The dispositions that were being made caused them to fear an ambuscade. The same evening (30th), General Morgan crossed the river at Sherrill's Ford, ten miles higher up, and the next morning sent on the troops under his command with Colonel Howard directly towards Salisbury. He himself and Colonel Washington came down to Beattie's Ford about two o'clock, and in ten minutes, General Greene and his aide, Major Pierce, arrived. He had been early informed of the movements of the British army, and had first put his troops in motion, then leaving them under command of General Huger on their march towards Salisbury, he had come on to ascertain the situation of affairs, and gave orders to the officers in this quarter. General Morgan and Colonel Washington met him at this place by appointment. They and General Davidson retired with him out of camp, and seating themselves on a log, had a conversation of about twenty minutes; they then mounted their horses, General Greene and aide took the road to Salisbury, Morgan and Washington a way that led to the troops marching under Howard. About the time General Greene had arrived, the British vanguard, of about four or five hundred men, appeared on the opposite hill beyond the river. Shortly after their arrival, some principal officer, with a numerous staff, thought to be Lord Cornwallis, passed in front of them at different stations, halting and apparently viewing us with spy-glasses. In about one hour after General Greene's departure, General Davidson gave orders to the cavalry and about two hundred and fifty infantry to march down the river to Cowan's Ford, four miles be-

low Beattie's, leaving nearly the same number at that place under the command of Colonel Farmer, of Orange. On the march he stated to the commanding officer of the cavalry "That though General Greene had never seen the Catawba before, he appeared to know more about it than those who were raised on it," and it was the General's opinion that the enemy were determined to cross the river; and he thought it probable their cavalry would pass over some private ford in the night; and in the morning when the infantry attempted to force a passage, would attack those who resisted it in the rear; and as there was no other cavalry between Beattie's and Tuckasege, he ordered that patrols who were best acquainted with the country, should keep passing up and down all night, and on discovering any party of the enemy to have gotten over, to give immediate information to him. These orders were carried into effect. The party arrived at the ford about dusk in the evening, and after encamping, it was too dark to examine our position. At Cowan's Ford, the river is supposed to be about four hundred yards wide, of different depths, and rocky bottom. That called the wagon ford goes directly across the river; on coming out, on the eastern shore, the road turns down, and winds up the point of a ridge, in order to graduate the ascent until it comes to its proper direction. Above the coming-out place, a flat piece of ground, not much higher than the water, grown over with haw and persimmon bushes and bamboo briars, five and six yards wide, extends up the river about thirty-one poles to the south of a small branch and deep ravine. Outside of this, the bank rises thirty or forty

feet at an angle of thirty degrees elevation; then the rise is more gradual. That called the horse ford (at the present time much the most used) comes in on the west at the same place with the wagon ford, goes obliquely down the river about two-thirds of the way across, to the point of a large island, thence through the island and across the other one-third to the point of a rocky hill. Though longer, this way is much shallower and smoother than the wagon ford, and comes out about a quarter of a mile below it.

From the information received, General Davidson supposed that if the enemy attempted to cross here, they would take the horse ford; accordingly he encamped on the hill which overlooks it. Lieut. Thos. Davidson's picket of twenty-five men remained at their station, about fifty steps above the wagon ford, on the flat piece of ground before described, near the water's edge.

On the same day, as Cornwallis was marching to Beattie's Ford, about two miles from it, at Colonel Black's farm he left behind him under the command of Brigadier-General O'Hara, twelve hundred infantry and Tarleton's cavalry, which, in the night, moved secretly down to Cowan's Ford, only three miles below. The next day at dawn, 1st February, 1781, he had his columns formed, the infantry in front with fixed bayonets, muskets empty, carried on the left shoulder at a slope, cartridge-box on the same shoulder, and each man had a stick about the size of a hoop pole eight feet long, which he kept setting on the bottom below him, to support him against the rapidity of the current, which was generally waist deep, and in some places more. It is stated by the historians that the river was swollen so as

to impede the passage of the British. The fact is, it was fordable from a week before until two days after this time, though a little deeper than usual. The cause of the enemy's delay must have been the disposition by General Davidson to guard the fords.

The command of the front was committed to Colonel Hall, of the Guards, who had for a guide Frederick Hager, who lived within two miles of the place. They entered the river by sections of four, and took the wagon ford. The morning was cloudy, and a fog hung over the water, so that Lieut. Davidson's sentinel could not see them until they were near one hundred yards in the river. He instantly fired on them, which roused the guard, who kept up the fire, but the enemy continued to advance. At the first alarm, those under General Davidson paraded at the horse ford, and Graham's cavalry was ordered to move up briskly, to assist the picket, but by the time they got there, and tied their horses, and came up in line to the high bank above the ford, in front of the column, it was within fifty yards of the eastern shore. They took steady and deliberate aim and fired. The effect was visible. The three first ranks looked thinned, and they halted. Colonel Hall was the first man who appeared on horseback, behind about one hundred yards. He came pressing up their right flank on the lower side, and was distinctly heard giving orders, but we could not hear what they were. The column again got in motion, and kept on. One of the cavalry riflemen\* reloaded, aimed at Colonel Hall; at the flash of the gun, both rider and horse went under the water, and rose down the stream. It appeared that the horse had

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\* Thomas Barnett, yet living.

gone over the man. Two or three soldiers caught him and raised him on the upper side. The enemy kept steadily on, notwithstanding our fire was well maintained. As each section reached the shore, they dropped their poles and brought their muskets and cartridge-boxes to their proper places, faced to the left, and moved up the narrow strip of low ground, to make room for the succeeding section, which moved on in the same manner. By the time the front rank got twenty or thirty steps up the river, they had loaded their pieces and began to fire up the bank. The Americans receded a few steps back, and when ready to fire would advance to the summit of the hill, twenty-five or thirty steps from the enemy, as they devolved up the river bank. They had gained the ford and just commenced firing when General Davidson arrived from the horse ford with the infantry, and finding his cavalry on the ground he chose to occupy, and impressed with the opinion given by General Greene, that the enemy's cavalry would attack them in the rear, he ordered Graham's men to mount and go up the ridge and form two hundred yards behind. As they moved off, the infantry took their places, and the firing became brisk on both sides. The enemy moved steadily forward, their fire increasing, until their left reached the mouth of the branch, upwards of thirty poles from the ford. The ravine was too steep to pass. The rear of their infantry and front of their cavalry was about the middle of the river when the bugle sounded on their left, on which their fire slackened and nearly ceased (they were loading their pieces). In about a minute it sounded again, when their whole line from the ford branch advanced up the bank, with their



arms at a trail. The hill was in many places so steep that they had to pull up by the bushes.

General Davidson, finding them advancing with loaded arms, ordered a retreat for one hundred yards. On gaining the point of the ridge, their fire was so heavy that he had to recede fifty steps beyond the ground assigned for formation; he then ordered his men to take trees, and had them arranged to renew the battle. The enemy was advancing slowly in line, and only firing scatteringly, when General Davidson was pierced by a ball and fell dead from his horse.

His infantry retreated in disorder from the unequal contest. They dispersed in small squads, and took through the thickets in order to evade the enemy's cavalry. Graham's cavalry, which was formed about one hundred yards in the rear of where Davidson fell, moved off in order.

The General was shot with a small rifle ball, near the nipple of the left breast, and never moved after he fell. It was well known that their pilot, Frederick Hager, had a rifle of this description, and it was always believed that he shot him. Most of the other Tories returned at or before the end of the war, but Hager went to Tennessee and stayed there until some of the Davidson family moved to that country, when he moved with eight or ten others, all fugitives from justice, and made the first American settlement on the Arkansas River, near Six Post, married and raised a family there, and died in the year 1814. Maj. David Wilson and two others found the General's body in the evening, carried him off in the night, and buried him at Hopewell Church. The

grave is yet known, and though Congress afterwards passed a resolution appropriating five hundred dollars for the monument, strange to tell nothing is yet done to execute it. For his biography, see Lee's Memoirs.

At an early hour, Cornwallis placed his remaining force in array on the face of the hill fronting Beattie's Ford; and as soon as the firing commenced at Cowan's Ford, made demonstrations of attacking the post at Beattie's. A company went into the water forty or fifty steps and fired. Four pieces of artillery fired smartly for thirty minutes, and his front lines kept firing by platoons, as in field exercises. It was only a feint, however. Few shot of the musketry reached the opposite shore, and the artillery did no injury, but cut off the branches of some trees near our line, which was masked by the point of the hill from the enemy's fire. The ford was one hundred yards higher up then than now. When the British were deploying up the bank at Cowan's Ford, owing to the fog and density of the atmosphere, the report of the artillery and platoons at Beattie's came down the river like repeated peals of thunder, as though it were within a mile, and was heard over the country to the distance of twenty-five miles. Although it had no effect on our troops engaged at Cowan's (for they acted well under the circumstances), yet it had a wonderful effect on the people of the adjacent country. Hitching up their teams in great haste, and packing up their most valuable goods and some means of subsistence, the men who were not in service and women and children abandoned their homes and drove off in different directions. In one hour after the firing, the whole country appeared in motion, but unfortunately too many of them

fled into the Salisbury road. The baggage and provision wagons had started from Cowan's as soon as the action began. Graham's cavalry maintained their order and expected the enemy's cavalry would pursue the baggage. A disposition was therefore made by placing four men with good horses as a rear guard, and despatching two others to give directions to the wagon master if he heard firing in his rear, to cause the teamsters to cut the horses from the wagons and clear themselves. Moving on slowly, halting occasionally, and no enemy appearing, it occurred to the commanding officer that the enemy's design must be to take Colonel Farmer in the rear at Beattie's Ford (if he had maintained his position against the tremendous cannonade). It was believed he had no intelligence of their being actually across below the ford. The cavalry filed along a by-road to give him notice, intending to form a junction with the foot one and a half miles from the ford at a farm. An old lady (the only person at the place) informed them that shortly after the firing had ceased, General Davidson's aide had given notice to the party at Beattie's, and they had retired already some distance on the Salisbury road. Some rain had fallen, and the men were wet and cold, and both men and horses having had but a scanty supply of provision at Cowan's the evening before, it was concluded to get some sustenance and take it off a mile or two in the woods and eat it. Videttes were ordered out, and agreeably to rule in such cases, each right-hand file ordered to dismount and procure food for himself, comrade and their horses, while the left file held the horses. They had not gotten half their supply when one of the videttes gave notice

that on the other side of the farm some men were in view, believed to be the enemy, but having hussar cloaks over their uniforms, could not be clearly ascertained. But by the tails of their horses being docked square off, which all knew was the mark of Tarleton's cavalry, they were instantly recognized, and orders given to mount, fronting the enemy. When all were in their places, they wheeled off and up a lane, the whole British cavalry coming briskly round the farm on the other side. When Graham's party passed over a rise in the ground beyond the lane, they turned short to the right, and in twenty-five poles crossed a swampy branch. When the advance got over, they wheeled to protect the rear, but the enemy were so eager in pursuit, that they did not discover them, but kept on at a brisk gallop along the Salisbury road. This was about two miles from Torrence's Tavern, whither they were bound.

The men who retreated from Beattie's Ford, and some of those who had been at Cowan's, and many others, some of them South Carolina refugees, as they arrived at Torrence's Tavern, halted. Being wet, cold and hungry, they began to drink spirits, carrying it out in pailsful. The wagons of many of the movers, with their property, were in the lane, the armed men all out of order and mixed with the wagons and people, so that the lane could scarcely be passed, when the sound of alarm was given from the west end of the lane, "Tarleton is coming." Though none had had time to become intoxicated, it was difficult to decide what course to pursue at such a crisis. Capt. Nathaniel M. Martin, who had served under Colonel Davie, and six or eight others (armed as cavalry), rode up, meeting the enemy, and

calling to the men to get over the fences and turn facing the enemy—that he could make them halt until they could be ready; some appeared disposed to do so; others, when they crossed the fence, kept on, some with their pails of whiskey. Martin moved forward until within fifty yards of the enemy. They halted near two minutes. Tarleton could readily discover the confusion and disorder that prevailed. One of his party fired a carbine and shot down Captain Martin's horse; he was entangled and taken prisoner, but escaped from the guard two days after. Tarleton and corps charged through the lane. The militia fled in every direction. Those who were on horseback and kept the roads were pursued about half a mile. Ten were killed, of whom several were old men, unarmed, who had come there in the general alarm, and a few were wounded, all with sabres; but a few guns were fired. On the return of the dragoons from the pursuit, they made great destruction of the property in the wagons of those who were moving; ripped up beds and strewed the feathers, until the lane was covered with them. Everything else they could destroy was used in the same manner.

At Cowan's Ford, besides General Davidson, there were killed James Scott, of Lieutenant Davidson's picket; Robert Beatty, of Graham's cavalry, and one private of General Davidson's infantry—in all, four. We had none wounded or taken. The enemy's loss, as stated in the official account, published in the *Charleston Gazette*, two months after, was Colonel Hall, of the Guard, and another officer and twenty-nine privates—thirty-one in all killed, and thirty-five wounded. They left sixteen who were so badly wounded that they could

not be taken along, at Mr. Lucas' (the nearest farm), and a surgeon under protection of the flag was left with them. Two wounded officers were carried on biers, and such of the other wounded as could not walk were hauled in wagons. Some of their dead were found down the river some distance, lodged in fish traps and in brush about the banks, on rocks, etc. An elegant beaver hat, made agreeably to the fashion of those times, marked inside, "The property of Josiah Martin, Governor," was found ten miles below. It never was explained by what means his Excellency lost his hat. He was not hurt himself. When General O'Hara sent on Tarleton, his men kindled fires on the battle-ground to dry themselves, cook their breakfast, etc. They buried their dead, disposed of their wounded, and about midday he marched, and in the afternoon united with Lord Cornwallis at Given's plantation, two miles from Beattie's Ford, and one mile south of the Salisbury road. Tarleton joined them before night. It had rained at times all day, and in the evening and night it fell in torrents.

The men under Colonel Williams and Captain Potts who were guarding at Tuckasege and Tool's fords, had early notice of the enemy's crossing, and retired. The different parties met in the afternoon at John McK. Alexander's, eight miles above Charlotte. By noon the next day all the men who were not dispersed, were collected near Harris' Mill on Rocky River, ten miles from the enemy.

On the second of February the morning was clear, though the roads very bad with the rain that had fallen the preceding night. The British army marched ten miles to Nelson's plantation, and encamped. On their

way they burnt Torrence's Tavern, at that time kept by the widow Torrence; her husband had been killed at the battle of Ramsour's Mill; and the dwelling of John Brevard, Esq. Mr. Brevard was the father-in-law of General Davidson, and at that time had several sons in the regular service. No other cause could be assigned for this barbarous mode of warfare. One of these sons was Dr. Ephraim Brevard, the author of the famous Mecklenburg Resolutions. He had been captured in the surrender of Charleston, and died of disease contracted while a prisoner, in the summer of 1780.

Being now within twenty miles of Salisbury, the British General, not doubting that the rains and bad roads would obstruct the march of General Morgan as much as it did his own, on the 3d of February marched at an early hour. His pioneers opened a kind of track in the bushes on each side of the road for a single file. The wagons, artillery and horsemen only kept the road. By the time they got within eight miles of Salisbury, their line of march was extended four miles, but there were no troops near to intercept them. Their van arrived in Salisbury about three o'clock. Before the rear came in, Brigadier-General O'Hara and the cavalry moved on. It was seven miles to the Trading Ford on the Yadkin, and it was getting dark when he came near. General Morgan had passed his regulars and baggage all over, and there remained on the south side only one hundred and fifty militia and the baggage wagons of the troops which had escaped from Cowan's Ford, and some others. Finding the British approaching, the militia were drawn up near a half mile from the ford, where a branch crosses which was covered with small timber

and bushes, and there was an old field along the road in their front. When O'Hara came, twilight was nearly gone. The American position was low along the branch, under shade of the timber; that of the advancing foe was open and on higher ground, and between them and the sky, was quite visible. When they came within sixty steps, the Americans commenced firing, the enemy returned it and began to form in line. As their rear came up, they extended their line to the right, and were turning the left flank of the militia by crossing the branch above. This being discovered, a retreat was ordered after having fired, some two, some three rounds. It was easily effected in the dark. They passed down the river two miles and crossed over, abandoning the baggage and other wagons which could not be gotten over, to the enemy, after taking out the horses. Two of the militia were killed; the loss of the enemy was not known, but from appearances of blood in different places, believed to be ten or twelve. They were by far the most numerous, yet from the positions of the contending parties were most exposed. After the firing ceased, the British marched on to the river, but found the water was too deep to ford, and still rising, and that General Morgan, encamped on the other side, had with him all the boats and canoes.

General O'Hara returned to Salisbury the same night, notwithstanding the badness of the roads. Those under his command marched thirty-four miles in the course of this day and part of the night. On the 4th, the army needed rest, and their commander being, it is supposed, undecided what course to pursue, they remained in Salisbury.



N. B.—General Graham is mistaken as to Cornwallis crossing the Catawba at Beattie's Ford. In his account of the affair as stated in the Colonial Records, lately published by the State, he says he crossed at Cowan's. He issued complimentary orders to his troops for their behavior on that occasion. He seems to have committed the management of the crossing to the direction of General O'Hara and not to have assumed command until the union with Webster's forces who crossed at Beattie's Ford.

Major Stedman, his commissary, says Cornwallis' horse was killed at Cowan's Ford.

Cornwallis delayed several days—from the 20th to the 23rd of January—in the country between Gilbertstown and Tryon Court House. He probably expected Morgan to retreat on the south side of South Mountains as the nearest route to reinforcements. General Greene's main body of troops had been at Cheraw. Morgan, however, went around the South Mountains, came by where Morganton is now located, then along the "State road" by the site of Maiden, to Mrs. Bolicks. Here he sent the prisoners on to Island Ford, where they crossed on the 29th of January, he with a portion of his troops took the Sherrill's Ford road, placing himself between Cornwallis and the prisoners, and crossed the Catawba on the 30th, while Cornwallis was at Forney's.

Cornwallis reached Ramsour's Mill (Lincolnton) before Morgan did the site of Maiden; he probably passed Maiden while Cornwallis was at Ramsour's, only nine miles distant. At any time from the 24th to the 28th fifteen miles to the left would have placed Cornwallis between Morgan and the Catawba River.

BATTLE OF COWAN'S FORD—THE NARRATIVE BY ROBERT  
HENRY.

In 1891, Judge Schenck had this narrative printed in pamphlet form. It was prepared by Robert Henry in 1855. Dr. Draper and Judge Schenck pronounced it an historical narrative of importance: it is therefore necessary to notice some of its statements.

I. That Joseph Graham was not present.

This scarcely deserves attention. I do not suppose the endorsers intend to approve this statement; for he

who disputed General Graham's veracity simply impeached his own.

Mr. Henry states that he took position on the left or lower flank of Lieutenant Davidson's picket on the bank of the river—Captain Graham, as commanding officer, was with his reserve or main force. When he advanced into action he probably was on the right flank, opposite where the British landed, or on centre. When the infantry came to the "upper ford," the cavalry, by command of General Davidson, took position on the rear, as indicated on the map.

Mr. Henry never went above his first position, and probably never saw Captain Graham. It is therefore not necessary to impute wilful misrepresentation to him on his erroneous statement.

II. That no one was killed except General Davidson.

The privates who were killed were buried by the British with their own dead on rising ground near the scene of conflict, and with such haste as to leave a mattock behind them.

III. That not a shot was fired on either side until the British reached the bank, and that this shot killed General Davidson.

The official reports of the British officers confirm General Graham's statement.

Lord Cornwallis, on the 2d of February, in general orders, returns his "thanks to the brigade of Guards for their cool and determined bravery in the passage of the Catawba while rushing through that long and difficult ford under a galling fire."

See also reports of Tarleton and Steadman.

General Davidson's body was not found and buried

by the British, as it would have been had he been killed near the bank. He must have fallen on the line by which the Americans retired, and in a different direction from that which the British took in leaving the place. Richard Barry, one of the men who recovered his body that night, was in this fight, and probably knew where he fell; it was a dark, rainy night.

The geography of the place where the British landed also corroborates General Graham. That the position of General Davidson at the commencement of the engagement was as located by General Graham on the map is well established by history and tradition. Many of the participants in this battle lived in the immediate vicinity, and confirmed this.

IV. That Doc Beal and not Fred Hager was the guide to the British, and fired the shot which killed General Davidson.

Hager, as stated by General Graham, fled to Tennessee, and afterwards to Arkansas. His family and friends accepted this statement as true. The writer has lived within eight miles of Cowan's Ford for forty years, and has never heard any statement or seen any document to the contrary, unless it be that of Major Steadman, Lord Cornwallis' commissary, who says that the guide fled at the first fire, and that Colonel Hall, not knowing the ford, took the shortest cut to the bank of the river. Colonel Hall followed the well-known course of the "wagon ford," which led directly across the river; if he had been on the "horse ford" he would have been too far down to go directly across, and must have had a guide to direct him. If Major Steadman is correct as to the flight of the guide, it seems to have

been some other than Hager, as it is improbable that he would have fled the country if the reports concerning him were untrue. It does not seem likely that Colonel Hall would have permitted his guide to flee. It was light enough for the American army to see the enemy two hundred yards distant, and he would have been plainly visible in attempting to escape. A commissary is seldom found at the head of a column in time of action. Major Steadman most probably wrote from "hearsay." Colonel Hall was killed and did not report. He went by the upper ford, which led more directly to Webster at Beattie's Ford.

General Graham was well acquainted with the men who recovered General Davidson's body, also Colonel William Polk, who was near him when he fell; and if he did not know the spot, in the preparation of his map, could have learned it from them. He married about two miles from Cowan's Ford, in the Hopewell congregation. Maj. David Wilson was his wife's uncle, and Mr. Barry her neighbor. His home was only twelve miles distant. By social intercourse for forty years, he had ample opportunity to obtain correct accounts of all occurrences not witnessed by himself.

Mr. Henry wrote his narrative seventy-five years after the occurrences related therein. It is an endeavor of a person ninety years of age to recall, without visiting the locality, what occurred when he was a lad of sixteen.

He was, according to his account, an individual actor, and belonged to no command on this occasion. He came up the river and took position on the lower flank of Lieutenant Davidson's picket on the bank. He retreated down the river to below Tuckasege Ford, some

ten or twelve miles, and could have known nothing of the manner of retreat, as he did not remain to see how it was done.

The reader can judge where there is material variance in the narratives of the writers, which had better opportunities to obtain correct accounts, and who is best sustained by official history and tradition. Examination of the map will also aid the student.—W. A. GRAHAM.

## CHAPTER VII.

FROM COWAN'S FORD TO GUILFORD COURT-  
HOUSE.

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1. SHALLOW FORD.
  2. GENERAL PICKENS ASSUMES COMMAND.
  3. HART'S MILL.
  4. PYLE'S MASSACRE.
  5. DICKEY'S FARM—DEATH OF MAJ. MICAJAH LEWIS.
  6. CLAPP'S MILL.
  7. WHITSELL'S MILL.
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## 1. SHALLOW FORD.

The Yadkin continued full, and was past fording on the 4th. Lord Cornwallis therefore determined to change his route, by passing up the west side to Shallow Ford, as he by this movement could place himself nearer the mountains, on the left of his adversary, and would have it in his power either to bring him to a battle, or to intercept his passage over the Dan, the next large watercourse. The British army marched from Salisbury on the morning of the 5th of February, and had no interruption until it arrived at a bridge over Second Creek. There, Col. Francis Locke had assembled one hundred militia, and on finding the British coming that way, took the plank off the bridge, and arranged his men at such a distance as to be able to destroy any who should attempt to repair it. He thus detained the British two or three hours, until a part of their cavalry filed off to a ford and were passing. As soon as Colonel Locke noticed this, he retreated. The

British dragoons pursued, and the vanguard overtook and badly wounded a Mr. Wilson. They repaired the bridge, the army passed on, and in a short time got into Bryan's settlement among their friends.

Davidson's troops who had been beaten, and retreated from the different crossings on the Catawba, and who had concentrated on Rocky River, had early intelligence of every movement made by the enemy. When it was understood that the British were in Salisbury, an opinion was entertained that they would stay there some time, and it was expected they would be furnished with supplies from a settlement ten or fifteen miles southeast of that place known to be disaffected. Captain Graham was detached with the cavalry and some volunteers besides, with a view of preventing such intercourse. Setting out early on the 5th of February (the same day the enemy left Salisbury), he purposed to make a circuit of four or five miles around that place, and go around through the disaffected settlement. By 10 o'clock a. m., he heard within six miles of Salisbury that the enemy was marching towards Shallow Ford. As the original plan was disconcerted by this movement of the enemy, it was thought inexpedient by this officer to return to camp for further orders; but on his own responsibility he decided to take the route of the enemy, thinking some opportunity might offer of attacking him in detail. He evaded the route they had taken the first day, but kept parallel to it, about three miles to their left, and camped at night near the South Yadkin. Starting early on the 6th of February, he got on the enemy's trail, but having the South Yadkin to pass and several large creeks, he proceeded with

caution, drawing up the party at each crossing, and sending over scouts to explore a quarter of a mile ahead; and not passing a stream until he reported. At dark he had passed all the creeks and arrived at a farm, within ten miles of Shallow Ford. There he learned that the rear of the enemy had passed this place a little before sunset, and that the men were much scattered on their march, and appeared fatigued. The man of the house thought they were upwards of two hours in passing, most of the cavalry being in front. Captain Graham's party camped at this place for the night, and at the first cock-crowing in the morning of the 7th, set out, intending to attack the enemy's rear at Shallow Ford; as he thought it scarcely possible that they could all have passed the evening before. He proceeded cautiously, and came within half a mile of the ford by light, and moved up to it, but not a human being was to be seen. The enemy had all passed over in the night. Some of the officers ascending a hill above the ford, could see a field in the low ground, where the whole British army was just parading. As they watched, the front marched off; soon the whole followed, before sunrise.

The American cavalry was mortified at coming so far and achieving nothing. It was decided that twenty of those best mounted, under command of the Captain, should, after divesting themselves of their marks of distinction, pass the river. The Lieutenant was ordered to draw up the others at the ford, to cover their retreat, if pursued, and to place videttes on the roads some distance in his rear, lest some parties of Tories might be following the Americans. The party went over, saw



several men whom they did not molest, and who, on being questioned, made professions of loyalty to the King and showed their protections. After going about three miles, the two soldiers who were kept in advance about one hundred yards, made signal of seeing the enemy. When Captain Graham came up, he saw about fifty dragoons, marching slowly in compact order. He followed them for two miles unperceived, but finding that they kept the same order, it was thought imprudent to go further, as the country that they were in was reputed to be favorable to the British. Returning about a mile, the Americans discovered three men in red coats, who fled, but being directly run down, surrendered. On proceeding further, they met a Hessian and a Briton, who also fled. On being overtaken, the Briton surrendered, but the Hessian held his piece at a charge and would not give up. He was cut down and killed. Before reaching the ford, the Americans took two armed Tories, who were following them. Having killed one and taken six prisoners, the party re-crossed the ford. Those left at that place had become uneasy, thinking the party had met some disaster, from the length of time it was absent. The whole returned a few miles and encamped. The next day the prisoners were sent on to the infantry, supposed to be twenty-five or thirty miles behind; and the cavalry moved, for better quarters, a few miles into Bryan's settlements—both men and horses requiring rest.

## 2. GENERAL PICKENS ASSUMES COMMAND.

Within three days after this, all the men in arms, about seven hundred in number, who had been collected in the rear of the British army, advanced and encamped a few miles to the south of Shallow Ford. The officers assembled, and agreed that as there were several colonels present, to organize into a brigade, and to vest the command in Gen. Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina. This circumstance has occasioned every professed writer of history to represent these troops as South Carolina militia, whereas they were simply the brigade of Davidson, from Mecklenburg and Rowan, the field officers of which conferred the command on General Pickens, who was with them as a refugee, to avoid conflicting claims of rank among themselves. There were not forty South Carolinians in the body of seven hundred men. He held the rank of Brigadier-General by commission from the Governor of that State, and had with him about forty South Carolina and Georgia refugees. He had been a witness to the disgraceful affair at Torrence's Tavern on the 1st inst., though without a command at that place. Lieutenant Jackson, who had served in the Georgia Regulars, and who afterwards served in Congress and was Governor of the State of Georgia, distinguished for his opposition to the Yazoo Speculations, was appointed Brigade Major. The Rev. James Hall, then of Rowan, Chaplain. The men serving a regular tour of duty, the only foot in the brigade, were placed under the command of Colonel Locke, of Rowan, and Maj. John Caruth, of Lincoln. For convenience in procuring supplies, the General decided to move on, while a distance

from the enemy, by detachments. Captain Graham's troop was ordered in front to take the road through Salem and to Guilford Court-House. After midday, Graham's men halted at Salem for dinner and to feed their horses. Dinner was promptly and politely furnished at the tavern by order of Mr. Bagge, the superintendent of the village. About the time the men were mounting to move on, Mr. Bagge applied to the commander for protection against twelve or fifteen men under the command of a person called Captain—from the hollows of the Yadkin—who had come to the other end of the town and begun to plunder. Captain Graham immediately went to these marauders and ordered them to desist. They disregarded the order, and remonstrated that they had been plundered by Tories and had a right to make themselves whole; and they asserted that the Moravians were all Tories, and that as evidence of this the British army had marched through and taken nothing; therefore they had a right to take, etc. Graham's troop was ordered up from the tavern, and the plunderers were made to restore what they had taken, and move out of the town.

This was not only a time that tried men's souls, but it tried their honesty also, for they found themselves freed from legal restraints. In a war, each party avails itself of the services of the meanest of mankind (even Indians); and without regular discipline there will be marauding, devastation, and extravagances continually committed. And it may be mentioned once for all that at this period the best disposed were of opinion that as they were in the service of their country, and no regular supplies furnished, they had a right to take food from

friend or foe. Others, when they found a man wealthy or possessing property which they wished, would accuse him of Toryism (sometimes without foundation), as a pretext to justify their conduct. Such men were apt to become too much encumbered with baggage for the service in which they were engaged.

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### 3. HART'S MILL.

General Pickens proceeded with his detachments, a few miles apart, until he passed Guilford Court-House. After that his march was more compact. Learning that General Greene had passed Dan River, and that Lord Cornwallis was in Hillsboro, he left his baggage wagons (few in number) with Colonel Locke, who commanded the foot, to follow after, and moved cautiously towards the enemy. In the afternoon, coming to a mill on Stoney Creek, ten miles from Hillsboro, he detached Captain Graham with twenty of his cavalry, and Capt. Richard Simmons with the same number of mounted riflemen, to examine the position of the enemy. The General gave special orders "to proceed with caution and commit nothing to hazard against a superior force, unless compelled, but if meeting an inferior force to strike them, and as quick as possible return to him, for as soon as an alarm should be given it might be expected that the cavalry and light troops of the enemy would be at our heels." The two commands set out at dark, and before going three miles met two men coming from Hillsboro, who gave them information of the British army at that place, its position and headquar-

ters, and that a guard of twenty men was at Hart's Mill, on the Eno, a mile and a half on this side, which was kept grinding for the army. After answering the questions put to them, they were for proceeding, but one of the men was told that his examiners were Americans, and that he must act as their guide. He suffered some abuse before he would consent.

The night was very dark, with occasional showers of rain, which became very heavy before day. The party moved slowly, stopping during hard showers to endeavor to keep their arms dry. At break of day, when within half a mile of Hart's Mill, the little force halted until the riflemen announced that they could see the sights on their guns, then moved on. Having arrived at the fork where the road leading from Stoney Creek comes into the great road that goes up by Mebane's, a sentinel halted the advance and fired. The party fled to the right in a thicket between the roads; the riflemen dismounted and tied their horses. The British sergeant-of-the-guard with a file of men came to the support of the sentinel and hailed; as the British could not see the Americans, they fired into the thicket, their balls passing through the tree tops above the heads of the patriots. The commanding officer, Captain Graham, and a few cavalymen made a dash at the enemy, while their guns were empty. Captain Graham hoped by the advance to get a view of the ground, and the position of the enemy's main force. Coming into the great road, he saw the sergeant and party running, and the British guard drawn up in the open yard in front of the dwelling-house to the right of the road. There were two small buildings, perhaps a stable and a smith shop, on the

same side of the road, within fifty or sixty steps of the dwelling, and the ground descended behind them. The commanding officer and party returned, and Captain Graham then gave Captain Simmons directions to go behind the swell in the ground until he got the buildings between him and the guard, and then to advance. While Simmons was executing this order, the cavalry would make a diversion on the left. Captain Simmons led his men across the great road to Mebane's, and the cavalry, turning to the left, entered, in open order, an old field, upwards of two hundred yards from the enemy, and galloping across it at right angles to their lines, completely attracted their attention and drew their fire until Simmons' party reached the small buildings and fired from the corners of both at the same instant. Those of the enemy who did not fall, fled. The cavalry came down at full charge, and by the time the British guard had fled one hundred yards beyond the river, their front was overtaken, and the whole killed or captured. The Americans' prisoners were one lieutenant and sixteen privates, regulars, and two Tories. When the riflemen fired, the lieutenant ran into the house and shut the door, peeped out until he saw Captain Simmons, whom he knew to be an officer, then opening the door and stepping out presented him his sword in a polite manner, soliciting protection. The British force consisted of one lieutenant, one sergeant, twenty-four privates, regulars, and two Tories. There were left on the ground, killed or wounded, one sergeant and eight privates.

The cavalry had barely brought back the prisoners to the riflemen, when in the direction of Hillsboro a noise was heard, like distant thunder. The sound was im-

mediately recognized as that of horses' feet. Instantly the prisoners and part of the cavalry were sent through the woods up the Eno. Captain Graham and six troopers who had the best horses took their station where the road leads off to Stoney Creek, in order to draw the enemy's attention in that direction, intending to disperse if closely pressed. The party with the prisoners had just passed out of sight when the enemy came in view at a slow gallop. The party with Graham remained until the enemy's front had crossed the river, and then retreated up the Stoney Creek road. When the enemy came to the forks of the road, they made no halt to look for tracks, but kept on the road that lead to Mebane's at great speed. After going a mile, Graham and his party moved slowly, keeping a good lookout in the rear, and arrived at General Pickens' camp only ten or twelve minutes before Captain Simmons with the prisoners, who came by another road. When the picket discovered Captain Simmons' party approaching with red coats among them, they began to fire upon him, without examination. He halted the party, and rode forward at some risk to explain; then they permitted him to pass. Fortunately no damage was done. The firing produced an alarm, and the whole army was instantly drawn up.

On the arrival of Simmons, General Pickens immediately marched up Stoney Creek, and in the afternoon halted at a farm to forage. While the horses were eating, most of the men who had been out with Graham and Simmons, and had slept none the night before, had tumbled down near their horses to take a nap, when they were aroused by the old appalling sound from the rear

guard, "Tarleton is coming." The farm was hilly and the fences high. The General lined them, with the riflemen, and made gaps at suitable places for flank movements or retreat. The disposition was nearly completed, when the front of the party came in sight. To the great joy of all, it was discovered to be Colonel Lee, with the American cavalry, just returning from the retreat with General Greene beyond the Dan River. These veteran troopers attracted much attention from the militia, who, judging them, though inferior in numbers, to be far superior in effectiveness to the British cavalry (which some of them had seen in the morning), were inspired with a confidence they had not hitherto possessed.

The whole army moved a few miles, and encamped at adjacent farms for the night. The next day it was in motion, in different directions, nearly the whole day; but did not go far, beating down nearer Hillsboro. The two corps kept near each other, though they moved and camped separately, as they had done the previous afternoon. Reconnoitering parties, which were sent out in the afternoon and had returned in the night, gave notice of a detachment passing from Hillsboro towards the ford on Haw River. Pickens and Lee put their forces in motion at an early hour, and came into the great road eight miles west of Hillsboro, near Mebane's farm. The whole of the militia cavalry, seventy in number, that had swords, was placed under Captain Graham, and in the rear of Lee's horse. Such of Graham's men as had not swords, were ordered to join another company. They followed the enemy's trail on the road to Haw River, with the cavalry in front. For the suc-



ceeding events, see Lee's Memoirs, first volume, page 305, and forward.

During the whole day's march every man expected a battle and hard fighting. Men's countenances on such occasions indicate something which can be understood better than described in words. The countenances of the whole militia throughout the day never showed better.

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#### 4. PYLE'S MASSACRE.

Lee states (page 311) that Pyle's men, on seeing the militia in the rear of his cavalry, recognized and fired on them. The true statement is this: Major Dickson, of Lincoln, who commanded the column on our right (when the disposition for attack had been made at the last farm), had been thrown out of his proper order of march by the fences and a branch, and when Pyle's men were first seen by the militia, they were thought to be the party under Dickson, which they supposed had come round the plantation and gotten in the road before them. On coming within twenty steps of them, Captain Graham discovered the mistake; for he saw that these men had on cleaner clothes than Dickson's party, and that each man had a strip of red cloth on his hat. Graham, riding alongside of Captain Eggleston, who commanded the rear of Lee's horse, remarked to him, "That is a company of Tories; what is the reason they have their arms?"

Captain Eggleston, addressing a good looking man at the end of the line, supposed to be an officer, inquired,

“To whom do you belong?” The man promptly answered, “A friend of his Majesty.” Thereupon Captain Eggleston struck him over the head. The militia looking on, and waiting for orders, on this example being set, rushed on the Tories like lightning and cut away. The noise in the rear attracted the notice of Lee’s men, and they turned their horses short to the right about, and in less than a minute the attack was made along the whole line.

The same page stated that ninety loyalists were killed. The next day our militia counted ninety-three dead, and there was the appearance of many more having been carried off by their friends. There were certainly many more wounded. When Lee and Pickens retired, it appeared as though three hundred might be lying dead. Many, perhaps, were only wounded, and lay quiet for security.

At the time the action commenced, Lee’s dragoons, in the open order of march, extended about the same distance as Pyle’s men, who were in close order, and on horse-back. Most of them having come from home on that day, were clean, like men who now turn out for review. Lee’s movement was as if he were going to pass them, five or six steps on the left of their line. When the alarm was given in the rear, as quickly as his men could turn their horses, they were engaged; and as the Tories were over two to one of our actual cavalry, by pressing forward they went through their line, leaving a number behind them. The continual cry by the Tories was, “You are killing your own men.” “I am a friend to his Majesty.” “Hurrah for King George!” Finding their professions of loyalty and all they could

say were of no avail, and only the signal for their destruction, twelve or fifteen of those whom Lee's men had gone through, and who had thrown down their guns, now determining to sell their lives as dearly as possible, jumped to their arms and began to fire in every direction. Their fierce attack made the cavalry give back a little. But as soon as their guns were empty, they were charged upon on every side by more than could get at them, and cut down in a group together. All the harm done by their fire was that a dragoon's horse was shot down. Falling very suddenly, and not moving afterwards, the rider's leg was caught under him, and by all his efforts he could not extricate himself, until the action began to slacken, when two of his comrades dismounted and rolled the horse off him. Lee's men had so recently come to the South, that they did not understand the usual marks of distinction between Whigs and Tories, and after the first onset, when all became mixed, they inquired of each man, before they attacked him, to whom he belonged. The enemy readily answered—"To the King." To many of their own militia they put the same question. Fortunately, no mistakes occurred, though in some instances there was great danger of them. (See Lee's Memoirs, page 307.) Charging up to a farm before this affair, expecting to surprise Tarleton, we outrode the legion infantry, and some Catawba Indians under Captain Oldham, who did not overtake us until the close of the action with Pyle. To our discredit, it must be stated, that when the Indians came up, they were suffered to kill seven or eight wounded men with spears before they were made to desist.

At the close of the action, the troops were scattered, mixed and completely disorganized. General Pickens and Colonel Lee gave repeated orders to form, but the confusion was such that their orders were without effect. These officers appeared sensible of the delicate situation that they were in. If Tarleton, who was only two or three miles off, with nearly an equal force, had come upon them at this juncture, the result must have been disastrous. Lee's men, though under excellent discipline, could with difficulty be gotten in order. The commandants exhibited great perturbation, until at length Lee ordered Major Rudolph to lead off, and his dragoons to fall in behind them. Captain Graham received the same order as to the militia dragoons; and by the time the line had moved a quarter of a mile, there was the same order as when the encounter began. Lee himself, while they were forming, stayed in the rear of his own corps, and in front of Graham's and ordered one of his sergeants to go directly back and get a guide from among the Tories and bring him forward without delay. The sergeant in a short time returned with a middle-aged man, who had received a slight wound on the head, and who was bleeding freely. His name was Holt, and he lived near that place. The sergeant apologized to his Colonel because he could find none who were not wounded. Lee asked the prisoner several questions relative to the roads, farms, water-courses, etc.; how O'Neal's plantation (where Tarleton then was) was situated; whether open woods, hilly or level, etc. After answering the several questions, and after an interval of about a minute, while Lee appeared to be meditating the man addressed him, "Well, God bless your soul, Mr.

Tarleton, you have this day killed a parcel of as good subjects as ever his Majesty had." Lee, who at this time was not in the humor for quizzing, interrupted him, saying: "You d—d rascal, if you call me Tarleton, I will take off your head. I will undeceive you: we are the Americans and not the British. I am Lee of the American Legion, and not Tarleton." The poor fellow appeared thunderstruck. See Lee's Memoirs (vol. 1, page 313 onwards) as to Colonel Preston joining the Americans, as to Tarleton's moving in the night, and making feints to cross Haw River at the ferries, then turning down to Butler's Ford, all well detailed there.

TARLETON'S ACCOUNT OF THE DESTRUCTION OF PYLE'S  
REGIMENT.

Lee, in his "Memoirs of the Revolution," states that the coats of his men were of a dark green color, and that Tarleton's Legion had the same uniform. It can be thus be seen why Pyle mistook Lee and Graham for Tarleton.

It is often asserted that the Regulators were all Tories in the Revolution. Yet history informs us of only two Tory commands raised in the Alamance section: (1) that of the notorious Fanning, (2) that of Pyle. Hillsboro, the headquarters of the Regulators, was certainly not that of the Tories.

The following account is from Tarleton's Campaigns 1780-'1, page 231:

"Notwithstanding the indifference or the terror of the Loyalists was visible at Hillsborough, Earl Cornwallis entertained hopes of receiving reinforcements from the inhabitants between the

Haw and Deep Rivers. On the 23rd (February, 1781), Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton was detached with two hundred cavalry; one hundred and fifty men of Colonel Webster's brigade and one hundred Yagers to give countenance to the friends of government in that district: A Family of the name of Pyle had made preparation for an insurrection in that quarter, and had communicated their intentions to Earl Cornwallis, who assured them that a British force should be sent to give them protection whilst they assembled, and at the same time requested them to march to Hillsborough or to Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton's Corps, as soon as they had collected. On the 24th, the British detachment passed the Haw and dispersed a party of American militia who had united to counteract the intentions of the Loyalists. Tarleton was told by the prisoners that a Continental force was expected in the neighborhood, which intelligence induced him to send to the Pyles to join him without delay. In the course of the day, particular and authentic information was obtained of Colonel Lee's cavalry having passed Haw River to meet a corps of mountaineers under Colonel Preston, for the purpose of intimidating or dispersing the King's friends. This report made Tarleton repeat the order to the Pyles for an instant junction of the numbers already assembled; that he might move against either Lee or Preston before they united. Spies were sent to gain intelligence of both and some satisfactory accounts had arrived, when several wounded Loyalists entered the British camp and complained to Tarleton of the cruelty of his dragoons. Though the accusation was erroneous, their sufferings were evident, and the cause from whence they proceeded was soon afterwards discovered. Colonel Pyle and two hundred of his followers, being all equally ignorant of the customs of war, had not complied with the orders they received, and though forewarned of their danger, thought fit to pay visits to their kindred and acquaintances before they repaired to the British camp; Inspired by whiskey and the novelty of their situation, they unfortunately prolonged their excursions, till meeting a detachment of dragoons, whom they supposed to be British, they received a fierce and unexpected attack in answer to their amicable salutation of: "God save the King," and many of them experienced inhuman barbarity; when discovering their mistake, they supplicated for mercy. Patrols were sent out to learn the course the American dragoons had taken after this event, and assistance was dispatched to the wounded Loyalists."—W. A. G.

## 5. DICKEY'S FARM—DEATH OF MAJOR LEWIS.

While the Americans were following the enemy's trail in the night, across from the last road leading to the ferry into that leading to the ford, day began to dawn, and Lee ordered Graham's cavalry in front, and gave orders to go on at a canter until they should overtake the enemy, or come to the ford. If they came upon the enemy, no matter in what position or numbers they might be found, to charge them, and he would be directly at their heels to support them.

The militia cavalry took the road and went on at the speed directed, expecting every minute to fall in with the rear of the enemy, until they arrived at the ford. It was now light, though before sunrise. They could see troops of cavalry formed fronting the ford, on the opposite hill, and thought the British infantry might be placed along a mill-race or some small islands to dispute the passage, which they could easily have done until they could have been reinforced from Hillsboro. In five minutes Lee arrived, and ordered the militia to pass the ford. When they entered the water, the enemy's cavalry wheeled off and took the road. After passing the first plantation east of the ford, Lee's cavalry again took the front. The report of the women along the road was that the enemy had passed about thirty minutes before, with their horse at a brisk trot and the infantry going as fast as they could move without running. Lee's men found blankets, and goat-skins and other knapsacks which some of the British had thrown away that they might be less encumbered. Continuing the pursuit a few miles, the American commanders found

that Tarleton could not be overtaken until he should be within supporting distance of Lord Cornwallis, and gave up the chase. The Americans then turned off the road to the left, and marching some distance up on the east side of Haw River, Pickens and Lee separated, going to those farms where men and horses could get subsistence, which they much needed. They rested the remainder of the day and night, keeping patrols out between them and Hillsboro. On the day following, about 10 o'clock, a countryman gave information that the enemy was on the march from Hillsboro towards Haw River. Shortly after the patrols came in and confirmed the account. General Pickens gave orders to march. By the time the troops were under way, some of our men who had been out foraging, came in and reported having seen the enemy within three miles. They were off the great road, and marching directly to our present encampment. General Pickens placed a strong rear guard, and moved some distance up the country from the enemy. After steering in several courses, and keeping in motion until after sunset, he encamped near a Mr. Dickey's; the rear guard being placed at the ford of the branch near Dickey's house, half a mile from the camp. Captain Franklin\* had been sent out with a patrol beyond the guard. The road forked at the corner of a fence one hundred yards from the house. Maj. Micajah Lewis, of the North Carolina Line, who served this campaign as a volunteer without a command, and several others went beyond the picket to Dickey's house. In the twilight, one of this party discovered a body of troops coming by the road, on the other side of the fence. They instantly

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\* Jesse Franklin, the present Governor (1820.)



mounted their horses and rode out and hailed them. They halted and answered, "A friend." Being asked where they came from, they answered, "From General Greene to join General Pickens," and inquired of Major Lewis if Captain Franklin had not told them they were coming for that purpose. The Major answered in the negative. As he well knew Captain Franklin, and that he had gone out that way not many minutes before, their story inspired confidence, and threw him off his guard. He ordered the leading officer to meet him half way and give the proper explanation, at the same time moving forward until he was nearly half way to them. Not seeing any of them advance, he was about to halt and turn his horse, when he was ordered to stand, "or they would blow his brains out." As his horse turned, they discharged a full platoon at him, of twenty or thirty guns, broke his thigh, and wounded him badly in several other places; yet notwithstanding he rode past the guard and into the camp a full half mile. He was taken off in a blanket, carried by four men, to an adjoining farm, where he died the next day—his loss much regretted. It could never be explained how the enemy, or any person with them, knew Captain Franklin, or that it was he who led out the patrol a few minutes before. If they had not referred to him, Major Lewis would have been more cautious. Major Lewis' grave is yet recognized on Dickey's plantation in Alamance County.

On the alarm, Pickens' men were instantly paraded; and all was quiet and steady. When Major Lewis and party arrived in camp, it was fully dark. The enemy advanced and began a desultory fire with the guard at

the ford of the branch. General Pickens ordered his troops to retire, not knowing what numbers or kind of troops were coming against him, and not having sufficient number of edged weapons to risk a night encounter. The fires were left burning, and a small party in sight of them, saw the enemy advance in line up to them in about thirty minutes after Pickens retired. They had waited to deploy after they left the ford of the branch where our guard had been stationed. From there they had marched in line, as dark as it was. General Pickens marched on until after midnight, when, crossing a small creek, and leaving a rear guard some distance beyond it, he encamped a second time. The night being cold, fires were kindled, and those who had it were dressing their food, when the rear guard was again attacked, and the men paraded. Finding the guard pressed and retiring into camp, General Pickens ordered a march, receded about three miles farther, and turned out of the road into the woods. The chickens were crowing, and he halted until day. No fires were allowed to be kindled, though it was very cold. After light, a patrol was sent back to the last encampment, who ascertained that the enemy had returned towards Hillsboro from that place, appearing from their trail to have been mostly infantry. General Pickens then marched back by that camp, and turned higher up the country, farther from the enemy's present position.

The last three days had exhibited a specimen of the vicissitudes of war. Nearly half the time our men had been in high spirit in full pursuit of the British, had destroyed Pyle and party, and Tarleton had barely escaped us. The other half of the time, the British were

in eager pursuit of the Americans, who were now in low spirits, and suffering by cold, hunger and want of rest; but had lost only Major Lewis.

General Pickens had with him only between 600 and 700 men, and but about one-tenth of these were equipped to act as dragoons. The remainder might be called mounted infantry, though variously armed—mostly, however, with rifles. The late risks he had run of being nearly surprised, caused him to be more cautious in his movements and encampments. His rule was to have his men formed and moving by 10 o'clock in the morning, to halt once or twice during the day for feeding, to move slowly and in different directions. Sometimes he was within ten or fifteen miles of the enemy, at other times in the north of Orange, or on the headwaters of Hycoc and County-line Creek. Whatever course he might be going, at sunset he never failed to turn nearly at right angles to it, either to the right or the left, for two or three miles before he halted for the night. He never camped two nights in succession within some miles of the same place, and some days did not march more than eight or ten miles in all. By these movements it was impossible for the enemy, by any preconcerted plan, to strike at him with a detachment; for before they could arrive at the place where their information directed, he would be elsewhere. Thus he ran no risk of being obliged to fight against his will, unless he should meet them by accident, which was hardly probable. In this manner he manœvered for eight or ten days. Lee's corps was higher up, and had not been with Pickens since they separated on the Haw River road, when they left off the pursuit of Tarleton.

## 6. CLAPP'S MILL.

While Pickens and Lee were manœuvering as already related, Lord Cornwallis moved from Hillsboro beyond Haw River and Alamance, on the road towards Salisbury; and on the 27th of February, Colonel Otho Williams (of Maryland), who succeeded General Morgan (when he retired) in command of the light troops and cavalry of the army which General Greene had sent on before him, arrived at High Rock Ford on Haw River. Colonels Washington, Lee, and the militia under Pickens, joined him there on the next day, and having crossed the river, advanced by different routes nearer the enemy. In the evening these troops took up separate encampments, two or three miles north of Alamance. General Pickens ordered Graham's cavalry to cross the creek and ascertain the enemy's position, and, if opportunity offered, to strike some of their small parties. Graham had just ascended the hill beyond Alamance when he met Colonel Washington and corps. It was nearly dark, and the Colonel advised that it was not safe to proceed any farther, for, said he, "there is a skygale ahead yonder," pointing to the light of the enemy's encampment, which appeared as if the woods were on fire. The orders not being peremptory, Graham returned with Washington, which General Pickens approved. Early next morning, Colonel Lee called at General Pickens' quarters, and after some consultation they came through the camp, calling for volunteer cavalry to go with Lee. Soon more proffered than were required. Forty were taken, and Captains Graham and Simmons to command them. Following Lee, he led them over the Alamance a short

distance, where they overtook a like number of Colonel Preston's riflemen, and the whole of Lee's cavalry under Major Rudolph, and some Catawba Indians. The cavalry and riflemen were divided, and twenty of each placed one hundred yards on the right of the road under Captain Simmons; the same number at the same distance on the left under Captain Graham. These officers were instructed that the cavalry and riflemen should protect each other alternately when meeting the enemy, if circumstances should require it. Six Catawba Indians and four of Lee's troopers kept the road, thirty poles in front of Major Rudolph. Graham and Simmons were instructed to keep an equal front, with the Indians, one hundred yards from the road. Major Dickson, of Lincoln, led two hundred mounted infantry in the rear of Simmons. They preserved an equal front with Major Rudolph, who kept the road. About the time the disposition was completed, we heard the British drums and fifes playing distinctly, upwards of two miles off. At first we thought they were on the march, but officers used to service, hearing them beat the "short troop," announced that it was only beating off their new guards from the morning parade to relieve the old. Two of Lee's troopers now came in haste through the woods, having a British prisoner, whom they had picked up about their guard that morning, and carried him to their Colonel, who examined him and sent him on to the rear. Captain Oldham's Regulars and Captain Kirkwood's Delawares now came in view, up the road behind Major Rudolph. Lee himself took position fifty steps in front of Rudolph, and one hundred behind the Indians. All being arranged, the party moved forward slowly. In

going upwards of a mile, we came to a farm, the road leading through a lane; at the end of this lane a branch crossed the road at right angles, near which and parallel to it ran the fences on each side. The field on the right was narrow, and Simmons led his party around it; that on the left was wide, and Graham ordered his riflemen to make gaps and pass through. Opposite the middle of the lane there was another fence which divided the field; making another gap for a passage, Graham descended through the second field, and crossing a ravine and coming up past a house, the riflemen laid down a pair of bars on the way from the house to a double barn, through which they passed. In front of the barn was a thick piece of coppice wood, thirty or forty poles wide, extending across the road to Clapp's plantation. On entering this wood, all was silent and no person to be seen. As soon as the plantation was passed, one of the Indians snorted like a deer, whereupon he and his comrades ran forward a few steps to the first timber, and fired. The riflemen under Graham and Simmons being in front, could see the enemy drawn up in position, and began to fire. The columns marching under Major Dickson and Colonel Preston instantly dismounted, tied their horses at the fence, and advanced in line. Major Rudolph put Lee's dragoons in order behind the double barn. While these arrangements were making, the Indians and riflemen kept up a desultory fire in front. As the American lines advanced, Graham and Simmons caused their men to oblique to the flanks, out of the way. The woods were so thick the foe could not be seen until they came within sixty or seventy steps of him, when a heavy fire commenced on both sides. The Indians, who

had hitherto been on the alert, could not stand it, but turned and ran off, like turkeys, half-bent. It had hitherto been the boast of the Indians how they would manage the enemy if they could get him in the woods, yet here was demonstration to the contrary. When the fire opened from the enemy's line, which was very heavy, the saplings and bushes were so thick that the bark and twigs were continually flying and hitting the men on their cheeks and shoulders and kept them dodging, to the neglect of their duty of firing and loading as fast as they might have done. After firing about three rounds (the enemy still in his first position) the Americans became panic-struck, evidently from the bark and twigs falling around them, and the whole line turned nearly at the same time, without orders, and retreated. Lee was conspicuous himself, among the militia, but to no purpose. Rudolph, who led the Legion cavalry through the lane, retired at a brisk trot. Lee, who retired through the field, ordered Graham to mind the gap in the middle fence, himself going to Kirkwood and Oldham beyond the branch. Graham wheeled his cavalry at the gap, fronting the enemy, ordering his riflemen to move on. The main part of the enemy's cavalry were passing the lane in the rear of Rudolph, who retired sullenly, never mending his pace, but keeping in compact order, while their front was within thirty steps of his rear. Another party of British, about fifty in number, coming through the field, when they saw Graham's party front them at the middle fence, kept back, until they discovered their front in the lane, behind Rudolph, was passing where the middle fence joined it; they then advanced, and Graham retreated and passed the branch

opposite to the end of the lane about the same time with the Legion cavalry. The enemy being now on the low ground, Kirkwood's and Oldham's infantry, who were drawn up on the rise about eighty yards in front, opened a fire on them over the heads of our retreating troops, which caused their cavalry to recede a little until their infantry arrived. Col. Otho Williams and Lee then ordered the militia to form on an alignment on each flank of the Regulars—Williams superintending that on the left, and Lee arranging Preston's men on the right. The enemy's infantry was forming in advance of the middle fence and firing at long shot; and though at a great distance, their balls kept constantly whizzing among our troops. Colonels Williams and Lee used great exertions to form the militia, but as they got some to fall in, and exerted themselves to rally others, the first would move off again. Major Dickson, of Lincoln, who with his characteristic coolness and decision saw the difficulty, observed to Colonel Williams, "You may depend upon it, you will never get these men to form here while the enemy are firing yonder. If you will direct them to form on the next rise beyond that hollow, one hundred yards back, they will do it." Colonel Williams instantly adopted this plan. Our line was thus restored. The Regulars retired to their place in it, and the firing ceased, though the enemy was still in view. In about twenty minutes, we marched off in order, and they did not follow. In a mile or two we came to the ford on Alamance, where the whole light troops, Washington's cavalry and all the militia belonging to the army except what were with General Greene were drawn up in position. The eminences and passes were lined



with the latter. This arrangement Colonel Williams, their commander, had made before he came on to battle. After remaining half an hour, the whole marched back five or six miles, when the different corps separated. Pickens and Lee camped together.

Early next morning after the battle of Clapp's Mill, the whole of the militia officers belonging to Pickens and Preston were convened by Colonels Williams and Lee, who proposed to them to consult their men, and ascertain if it would be agreeable to send every third man home with their horses. Being mounted, they were of great service by the celerity of their movements, yet being encumbered with their horses, when a change of positions during action was necessary, it could not be made. Their first thought, when they moved from where they were engaged, was to get their horses, and so the men could not be brought into action a second time, which was unfavorable for the stubborn contests we might expect to engage in from this time. The officers suggested that half their number organized as infantry would be of more service to the cause than all of them as they were. The militia officers gave it as their unanimous opinion that their men would not consent to their horses being sent home.

The next day, the 2d March, some affairs took place, though of themselves trivial, yet from the result, and the great advantage to the American cause, they are thought worthy to be detailed minutely.

About 10 o'clock, General Pickens and Colonel Lee came to Captain Graham and gave him the following orders: "You will take about twenty of your men, and go down the road to where the battle was fought yester-

day, and see if the enemy are there; if they are gone, you will take their trail and follow, until you find out where they are, giving no credit to any information you may receive from the inhabitants; but go on until you actually see the British, which, when you ascertain, you will immediately send or bring us word. We shall be found at a plantation two or three miles to the right of this, to which we will move this afternoon. After you have executed this order, if it appears anything can be done without running too much risk, you are at liberty to do it. But send an account of where the enemy is first. This young German (a man at hand) is well acquainted with the country and will pilot you." In a half hour the party was ready, and set out, arriving at the battleground, and the plantation being open, Graham left half his force behind, to support if pursued, while the other half explored, and found that the enemy was gone. A signal being given, the others came forward and joined us. Our dead were on the ground, eight in number, two of whom were Graham's men. We saw a large grave where the enemy had buried their dead, in which Mr. Clapp stated he had seen them put sixteen, besides an officer whom they carried off to bury at headquarters. The exact number of wounded on each side was unknown. Of this company there were: John Ford, of Charlotte, and David Johnston, killed. Slightly wounded: Samuel Martin, Gov. Alex. Martin's brother; John (Jack) Barnett, yet living in Mecklenburg. Robert Harris, Esq., of Rocky River, badly wounded; besides some bad cuts on his head, his right hand was cut off; died about twelve years ago. John Stinson, now living near Charlotte, and Joseph Mitchell, since dead,

taken prisoners in consequence of leaving their party and turning off to the left on the retreat.

After making some arrangements with Clapp about burying our dead, Graham's party moved on the enemy's trail, which led into the great road from Salisbury to Hillsboro, nigh to where a Mr. Low lived. While some halted on the road, others rode up to the house and enquired if any party had gone up the road that day. On being answered in the negative, they returned. Two Dutchmen now came along, going to the British with loaves of bread, a crock of butter, and a runlet of brandy, which they had promised to an officer the day preceding. They and their stores were taken in custody, and the party proceeded down the great road on the enemy's trail. Two men going as scouts, one hundred yards in advance, halted and made a signal. The officer went forward, and saw a sentinel on his post on the side of the road two hundred yards distant beckoning to some one to come to him. At the same time another sentinel was seen one hundred yards to the left of the road in the woods. This was about a half mile above Hawkins' plantation, where the British headquarters then were. The party turned up the road, took through the woods and along by-paths until they went a short distance from the battle-ground, into the woods. It was getting dark, and they halted and partook of the stores they had taken with the Dutchmen. The officer had to use great caution in the distribution of the brandy, reminding his men if they went back upon the enemy, much depended on their being in proper condition. What of the stores were not consumed were distributed among the party, and the second in command was sent on with

the prisoners and intelligence to Pickens and Lee. It was now fully dark, the commanding officer, pilot and thirteen others turned back. Their first move was to a plantation, somewhat to the left of the way and within three-fourths of a mile of Hawkins', where the enemy was. This place being so near, we expected to come upon some stragglers outside of their guards, but found no one but the old German proprietor and his wife, and one of our wounded men, Robert Harris, Esq. Attempting to move him, we found that as soon as he was raised he fainted. We therefore gave him in charge to the old Dutchman, with orders to treat him well and he should be well rewarded, but if otherwise they should suffer, for he was a man of high standing. They promised, and he afterwards said they did everything they could for him. The party moved from the plantation into the woods, and, upon consultation, agreed to attempt to take the sentinel they had seen one hundred yards from the road, belonging to the main guard. The pilot, who knew every spot about there, and who had gotten a full proportion of the store of brandy, was ready to act any part assigned him. He led off in that direction, moving slowly and cautiously, but the sentinel was vigilant, and hailed, and would not suffer them to approach him. Attempting to fire, his gun flashed, when the whole party made a dash at him, but owing to the darkness of the night and the bushes, could not find him. They instantly turned towards the sentinel on the great road, who hailed and fired and ran towards the guard before they came nigh him. The party went up the road at a canter for two or three hundred yards, and then began to move slowly. They soon discovered

by the sound of horses' feet and the blackness of the road that another party was meeting them. We hailed them in a loud and confident tone, and were answered, "A friend." It was inquired instantly in the same tone, "A friend to whom?" Answer in a rather low tone, "To King George." The word was scarcely pronounced when six of those in front fired, and orders were given, "Rush on, rush on; skiver the buggers!" At the same time, those who had fired were moving to the side of the road, out of the way, as had been concerted, so that the remainder could fire in the enemy's face, and then all take to the woods. But it was discovered that the enemy were retiring, and the party rushed on after them. As they were passed, they turned out of the road to the left, and their commander, a sergeant, being drawn off his horse by the limbs of a tree, was discovered and taken prisoner. The others made their escape, and were heard blundering through the woods in great haste. After the pursuit was over, the pilot took a right-hand path which led out of the great road, and after going several miles, stopped at a barn and got some forage. The command then went into the woods and fed the horses and partook of the balance of the bread, butter and brandy which had been taken from the Dutchmen. About midnight we heard considerable firing about two miles off, on the Salisbury road, above Low's farm, probably upwards of three miles from Hawkins', the British headquarters. The history of this firing, as was learned from the captured sergeant, and from a deserter afterwards, was this. About sunset the officer of the day, stating that some Americans had been viewing the

guard, ordered out a patrol of a sergeant and sixteen cavalry, to keep up the great road above the plantation and return in pursuance of these orders. The sergeant had made no discovery, until he returned within a quarter of a mile of the picket, where he met Graham's party, was himself taken, and the others being dispersed, came straggling into camp separately. The whole army was alarmed, and under arms. A large body—upwards of one hundred horses were sent out. Finding all quiet, they went the Salisbury road beyond Low's Mill, where they met a company of seventy or eighty Tories, coming to join them, off Deep River and the eastern part of Rowan, who, being afraid of falling in with the Americans, were marching in the night. The British had been so teased by Graham's party, that on hailing they waited for no reply, but charged them immediately. It was said that the Tories, having heard of Pyle's disaster, were afraid to confess to which party they belonged. Four were killed and twenty or thirty badly cut. They made hardly any resistance. A third of them escaped and went home. The dragoons, being confident it was Americans, had nearly glutted their vengeance before they were sensible of their mistake. When some prisoners were taken, an explanation took place, but the Tories were so dispersed that not more than half of them could be collected. In the case of Pyle's men, they were cut up by the Americans, and thought it was the British; in this case they were cut up by the British, and thought it was the Americans. These miscarriages so completely broke the spirit of the loyalists in those parts that no party was known afterwards to attempt to join the British in these or the adjoining counties. The

above accounted for the firing heard by Graham's party after midnight, which was repeatedly explained afterwards as above.

Graham's party having finished their repast and the balance of the brandy, moved on to General Pickens' camp, where they arrived at sunrise; the party that left them at dark with the prisoners and intelligence had gotten in about midnight.

Spirits are dangerous to tamper with in an army, and frequently do injury, but they were believed to be of great service on this occasion. The men were somewhat excited, though not to such a degree as to render them inert or disorderly. On meeting a superior foe in the dark, just by the lines of his main army, and showing a bold front, the enemy became appalled and fled. On stopping to forage in the woods, some of the party asked the sergeant why he did not fight, as he had three more than their number. He replied that not above half of his men had pistols, and knowing his party to be small, and believing that his opponents from their firing and conduct were numerous, he was induced to retreat. He belonged to what was called the 16th troop, which had come on with General Leslie the preceding fall. They wore scarlet coats and caps covered with white sheepskin.

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#### 7. WHITSELL'S MILL.

On the day of the battle at Clapp's Mill, the term of service of the militia commanded by Captain Graham and other officers under General Pickens had expired, but nothing was said about it until the 3d of March.

When made known to General Pickens, he requested the officers to use their influence to induce their men to stay a few days longer, for he thought in that time there might be a general engagement, and that our militia, who had been so well tried, might be the means of giving General Greene the advantage.

With such severe duty, the horses of Graham's command were much reduced, and the company had lost nine men of those who had entered the service with the Captain. Some companies all went home, and it being deemed unsafe to travel singly through the Tory settlements east of the Yadkin, arrangements were made that an officer should conduct each squad of those returning. Twenty-four of Graham's company and a few others agreed to stay a few days in expectation of a general battle. Pickens, Lee, Williams and Washington kept up their game of checkers—moving in the district of country between the Alamance, Haw River and Reedy Fork, continually changing their quarters, and appearing to act separately, but yet connected in their plans. Lord Cornwallis could not get intelligence of their position, so as to come at them. General Greene, after his return from Virginia, a little behind them, kept manœuvring in the same manner. It was the best way of supplying the army, to march where supplies were to be had, as the means of transportation from a distance, in the existing state of incertitude, was difficult and hazardous, besides the doubtfulness of where the army might be when they should arrive. The British General discovered that if the present system was continued, it must prove ruinous to him. After the late events which had befallen the Tories, he could not expect his army to



increase, but rather diminish; and he well knew his adversary would be reinforced from the North. Not having a knowledge of any of the country but the district which he occupied, and ignorant of the position of the quarters of all the American corps, he adopted the most eligible plan of annoyance by making a rapid and to them unexpected march. If they had any place of concentration, he would thus separate them, and pushing them beyond it, make them fight in detail, or perhaps overtake Williams, or perhaps General Green himself. He was sure there could be no hazard at any point; for the Americans, taken unawares, could not bring their united forces to bear upon him. With these views, on the 6th or 7th of March, in the night, he broke up his camp at Hawkins' and passed the Alamance shortly after daylight on a cloudy morning. His van was discovered by a patrol of Washington's cavalry, who immediately sent on notice, first to Colonel Clark, who was nearest, and then to the other corps in succession. All were soon in motion, each pushing into the road to gain the British front, which some did with difficulty. The British advanced with such celerity that some small parties, who endeavored to reach their front, fell on their flanks. A scattering fire was continually kept up, either on the flanks or in front; as their rule was, whenever they saw their adversaries, to fire at them, without halting, and press on in as compact order as such rapid movements would admit. Williams, Pickens, Clark, Preston, Lee and Washington were all moving in their front, at the same gait, not more than one-fourth of a mile between them. Colonel Tarleton and corps were within one hundred yards of the front of their infantry, and though so

many opportunities offered for attacking scattering parties of militia coming in on the flanks, he never attempted to charge or pursue them. The appearance of Washington and Lee before him, must have prevented him from improving such advantages as frequently offered in the course of the day. Washington and Lee superintended the rear alternately in person, but nothing could be done, for on the first sight of any force within his reach in front, the enemy, without halting, fired a platoon and kept steadily forward. It appeared to be the object of the British commanders, O'Hara and Webster, to bring the Americans to a fight or disperse them. Lord Cornwallis and the remainder of his army were marching behind at their leisure. But the whole of the militia of his army and cavalry were sent on with these officers—supposed to be about sixteen hundred in all.

The pursuit continued in this manner for ten miles. When we came within a short distance of Whitsell's Mill on the Reedy Fork of Haw River, Colonel Williams galloped ahead in haste and selected a position for battle. In sight of the mill he first stationed two companies of riflemen, behind trees, one on each side of the road. Thirty poles behind these, as the ground began to turn, he formed a line of militia facing the enemy. About three hundred and fifty of his Continental infantry passed the ford, and a part of Preston's and Clark's militia, and formed fronting it on the opposite side. Washington's cavalry and Graham's reduced squad of militia dragoons, one hundred yards on the right and rather in the rear of Williams' line. Lee's dragoons at the same distance on the left under Rudolph. Lee himself at-

tended to Preston's militia. As the enemy approached, the two companies of riflemen began to fire. The enemy halted, the first time they had done so in twelve miles, and immediately began to deploy. In their rapid march, their rear was thrown far back, and it took them some time to form. Our dispositions were all made ten or twelve minutes before theirs, and during the whole of that time the two rifle companies in front, and some of their light troops, kept up a scattering fire at long shot. When their arrangements were completed, their line began to advance slowly. The day was still cloudy, a light rain falling at times; the air was calm and dense. The riflemen kept up a severe fire, retreating from tree to tree to the flanks of our second line. When the enemy approached this, a brisk fire commenced on both sides. From the state of the atmosphere, they became enveloped in smoke; the fire had lasted but a short time, when the militia were seen running down the hill from under the smoke. The ford was crowded, many passing the watercourse at other places. Some, it was said, were drowned. The next object presented was the British pushing forward from under the smoke in disorder. Upon which the Regulars under Colonel Williams and the militia under him on the north side of the water began a brisk fire over the heads of the retreating militia, which caused the advancing foe to halt and repair his line, which was done in a short time. The fire of Williams' Regulars, their front about thirty poles long, was, while it continued, equal to anything that had been seen in the war, for they were under excellent discipline. When the enemy had repaired his disorder, his line was more than double the length of Williams'. Their front

and those on their flanks beginning to pour in a cross-fire upon him, and the retreating militia having crossed the water and mostly ascended the hill, after his men had fired five or six rounds, they wheeled by sections in a trot and in as good order as men in field evolutions. The British continued their fire until Williams' troops had moved up the road one hundred yards, and then began to slack. A column of the enemy's infantry, which had not been brought into line, came on to the ford, and Tarleton with his cavalry came through. On the rise of the hill, he sounded his bugle. As soon as it was heard, Colonel Washington, yet in his position on the right, about forty poles from Tarleton, sounded his bugle also, and Major Rudolph, at the head of Lee's corps on the left sounded his. Upon this, Washington's and Lee's cavalry went off at a canter, meeting each other in the road, about twenty poles in Tarleton's front. As they met, they wheeled up the road in a gallop (though in good order), after Colonel Williams. Tarleton was halted on the hillside, and suffered them to pass without moving. The infantry on the opposite hill kept firing until they were out of view. When Washington and Rudolph came to Williams' rear, they turned out of the road, about sixty steps on each side, along his flanks. His men were marching briskly, and the cavalry officers gave orders that if the infantry was charged by the enemy in the rear they should wheel and take him in each flank. Washington himself and eight of his troopers took the rear. At such parts of the road as a view could be had, two of them were stationed, who, on seeing the front of the enemy, galloped up and reported, passing others who were stationed in the same manner.

Tarleton advanced slowly and cautiously for about a mile from the field of battle (a column of infantry following), and then returned. The whole way from the battle, three or four miles, the broken militia were coming in on each flank, sometimes in squads of twenty or thirty, sometimes singly. They were much dissatisfied with the place that had been assigned them by the Continental officers, not allowing them, as they stated, an equal chance with the Regulars; having had to cross the Reedy Fork under the whole fire of the enemy in order of battle. It might be stated in defence of the officers that they were really so situated that it became necessary to risk the sacrifice of one part of their command to save the rest, and though the life of one man is as dear to him as that of another, yet the loss to the cause of three or four of militiamen whose term of service would expire in a week or two was not as great as the loss of one regular, who was well trained, and engaged to serve during the war. But this was a kind of logic they were unwilling to admit. When it was discovered that the enemy were going back, Lee's cavalry fell in the rear of the militia, who were collecting fast, and following Williams; Lee himself taking much pains to convince the militia officers of the necessity there was for making the arrangements adopted for the battle. Washington's cavalry turned into the road in front. Colonel Williams ordered Captain Graham to move on before, with half a dozen of his men, and overtake General Greene. He stated that he had not time to write, but directed him "to inform the General of the dispositions made at the mill and the result of the battle." "You may tell him but two of our Regulars are killed and three wounded,

and from the best I can learn, not more than twenty or twenty-five of the militia. You move with Colonel Washington. Say that the militia, though scattered at first are generally collected, and joined us again; that the last seen of the enemy was about a mile on this side of the battle-field. He was then returning. But chiefly I wish the General to send me word whether it is his will that I file off to the right at a place he mentioned. Tell him I shall keep along this road until I receive orders."

The party proceeded, and in travelling three or four miles overtook the army with General Greene on the march. The General himself was near the rear, in much solicitude. He had heard the firing and was anxious to know the result. After hearing the relation, he asked many questions, and then ordered one of his aids to bring the map, dismounted, and he and the aid got astride of a log and spread the map, each hand holding a corner. After examination, it was decided that Colonel Williams' cavalry and all the light troops should file off at the place proposed, which led to Carthey's Bridge, on Troublesome Creek, which they crossed about midnight and encamped. General Greene continued his march by the direct road to Troublesome Iron Works, some distance above Colonel Williams. He got there about dark, and continued at this place until he moved on to the battle at Guilford Court-House.

Captain Graham and such of his men as continued in service for the purpose of being at the general engagement expected to take place, had got separated on the day of battle at Whitsell's Mills. The day following they came together at the Iron Works, stayed there three days until the 10th of March, ten days longer than their

term of service, and then returned home, for from appearances, according to their view, a general engagement might not take place for several weeks.

For succeeding transactions, see the histories of Marshall, Ramsey and Gordon, and Lee's Memoirs.

The first months of the year 1781 were not very cold for the season, but the weather was cloudy and wet. After the 6th of February there were no heavy rains to raise the waters much; while it was yet so frequent as to keep the earth completely saturated and the roads bad. The militia which assembled in the rear of Lord Cornwallis on his march towards Dan River, were chiefly from the west of the Yadkin, the counties of Rowan and Mecklenburg. They placed themselves under the command of Brigadier-General Pickens, of South Carolina. Being generally mounted as cavalry or infantry, they left their homes without much preparation, were without tents and nearly every other kind of camp equipage, and without regular supplies of provisions or forage. Among them, commissaries or quartermasters had no duties to perform. Each man had a blanket or great coat or coverlid which he brought from home, a pair of saddle-bags, in one end of which he carried a change of clothes, and in the other his provisions (when he had any), and a wallet in which to carry provender for his horse. This, with his saddle, bridle and arms of whatever description they might be, constituted the whole of his equipage. When his wallet and saddle-bags were replenished, he was ready to move with celerity any distance in any direction. When they became empty, by moving he had an opportunity of filling them, which all considered they had a right to do at the house of

friend or foe. It was furnished cheerfully by one party when in their power, it was taken from the other without asking their consent. This system afforded the men of dishonest propensities an opportunity of taking many things which necessity did not require.

It was acknowledged by all in service that from Tarleton's defeat until the battle of Guilford there was not a more active campaign in the whole war, and it is evident from the foregoing facts, that six or seven hundred of the North Carolina militia under the command of Gen. Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina, had their full share and more of the dangers to be encountered, and privations to be endured (which they did without a murmur of complaint, except as to the position in which some of them had been placed at Whitsell's Mills), and, it may be further stated, without expectation of pay; for at that time the state of our currency was such that a month's pay would not purchase a half pint of whiskey. There is one circumstance which ought not to be forgotten, that notwithstanding the wet and inclement season, and that, as has been observed, the men were without shelter, were frequently wet, sometimes sleeping in wet clothes, marched whole nights without sleep, were irregularly supplied with provisions, sometimes bordering on starvation, and when provisions were obtained these often badly prepared, yet, under all these difficulties and hardships, it has since been often remarked that there was not a single case of indisposition or sickness among the militia during the whole campaign. As it is generally believed there is no effect without an adequate cause, it is submitted to the consideration of medical gentlemen whether the state of mind



and excitement produced thereby did not operate as a stimulant and have a large share in producing such a degree of health as is above stated. It is well known that in common the same number of men when furnished with the best camp equipage and provisions, especially when lately from their homes, are subject to many diseases, even when only required to perform ordinary camp duty.

## CHAPTER VIII.

CLOSING SCENES OF THE REVOLUTION IN  
NORTH CAROLINA.

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1. GENERAL THOMAS POLK SUCCEEDS GENERAL DAVIDSON AS BRIGADIER-GENERAL.
  2. GENERAL SUMTER RAISES TROOPS IN MECKLENBURG AND ROWAN COUNTIES FOR SOUTH CAROLINA REGIMENTS.
  3. GENERAL RUTHERFORD'S CAMPAIGN ON THE CAPE FEAR.
  4. FINAL ORDERS.
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The military forces which retreated from the different fords on the Catawba River, after the death of General Davidson, concentrated at Harris' Mill, on Rocky River, on the 3d of February; and being deprived of the commander of the district, the officers met and drew up an address to General Greene, recommending that Col. Thomas Polk, of Mecklenburg, should be appointed his successor. It was committed to the care of the Rev. Dr. J. Hall, who had no opportunity of presenting it until near the last of February. General Greene accordingly forwarded an appointment to Colonel Polk as Brigadier-General in the place of General Davidson, deceased, until the Legislature should make a constitutional appointment. Shortly after General Polk received his commission, the news was received of the battle of Guilford; and an opinion prevailed that the British would retrace their steps by the way of Salisbury and Charlotte, so as to keep up a communication, and act in concert with Lord Rawdon, who occupied Camden. If such was their plan, it was probable the seat of war might

be somewhere between the Yadkin and Camden. As the citizens of that section of the country had already experienced the distresses incident to such a state, they appeared determined to try to keep the enemy at a distance; and General Polk ordered out the next contingent division of militia liable for duty, and forwarded it on to Salisbury, with a view of fortifying the fords and passes on the Yadkin River, but before he reached Salisbury, intelligence was received that the British were on the march from Ramsey's Mill to Fayetteville. He therefore dismissed his men and returned.

The requisition made by General Polk fell far short of the complement intended, owing to the prevalence of small-pox. When the British army was in Charlotte the preceding fall, it had brought this disease with it; and whether by accident or design, could not be ascertained, it spread from them through the western counties, and the greater part of the people who had not taken it in the natural way were under inoculation in the months of March and April; so that if the enemy had returned the country could have made but a feeble resistance. This was the second time that that malignant disease had prevailed in the west since the first settlement of the country.

Shortly after the battle of Guilford, Governor Rutledge, of South Carolina, who had been invested with full powers by the Legislature of that State, authorized General Sumter to raise a brigade of State troops for the term of ten months, each man to find his own clothing, horse, arms and equipments, but to be found in forage and rations by the public and receive a grown negro for his pay. Col. William Polk, Wade Hampton, William

Hill and — Middleton, commanded. The greater parts of the regiments of Polk, Hampton and Hill were raised in the then counties of Mecklenburg and Rowan, between the Yadkin and Catawba.\* Many of these men might be considered as seasoned to camp life from the service they had seen. They were accustomed to endure hardships and privations, and encounter dangers. How well they acted their part in the summer of 1780, until after the battle of Eutaw, is recorded in the history of the war within the State of South Carolina. They sustained considerable loss of both officers and men in that action in the autumn; but suffered much more from the climate in that low country. Many of them never returned.

In the most sanguinary wars there is generally a greater waste of the human species by the diseases incident to military life, especially in a sickly climate, than by the enemy. This, however, is seldom taken into view, either by the men themselves when they enter service, or the government that raises them. Yet the monthly returns in the army will at all times prove it.

A part of the plan of the British General,, when he entered North Carolina, was to send on a detachment by sea to the port of Wilmington. Some armed vessels and transports, under Major Craig, and three or four hundred troops, took possession of that place without opposition early in the winter, fortifying the town by several redoubts and lines of communication, and perforating loop-holes in a brick church which stood in their range, the whole being strengthened by rows of

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\*See Act of Assembly of 1781, exempting those Counties from levies for continental line which had furnished men for General Sumter

abattis, in some places double. They placed a guard on the opposite side of the river, in a brick house which they fortified by abattis, and barricaded the doors and windows, for the purpose of covering the ferry and keeping open the communication with the southwest side of the river. A majority of the population between Cape Fear and Pee Dee rivers were disaffected. Those in South Carolina were already organized, under a Major Gainey, with whom General Marion had frequent contests and difficulties. Those in North Carolina, on the landing of Major Craig at Wilmington, flocked to him in great numbers; and he, only a Major himself, commissioned a host of field officers in the counties between those two rivers; and had them organized as militia, and furnished with ammunition and many of them with arms. By the summer the British authority prevailed generally, so high as the narrows of the Yadkin and Bell's Mill on Deep River. The exertions of Colonels T. Brown and Owen, of Bladen, and Lillis, of Robeson, and other active Whigs, were unavailing—the majority against them was so great. Another circumstance had considerable influence with the timid and wavering. On the arrival of Major Craig, the merchants shipped considerable supplies of salt, sugar and other necessaries of which the country was becoming destitute; the article of salt had rated at from eight to ten dollars per bushel, or was bartered for a good cow and calf or four-year-old steer. Other articles of necessity were at proportionate prices. The prospect of getting a plentiful supply on reasonable terms induced many to go to Wilmington who otherwise would have been for the country. Such Whigs

as were active or had used efforts to suppress the rising of the Tories, had to fly from that district; others were taken prisoners and carried to Wilmington and put on board a prison ship, where they endured great hardships.

After Lord Cornwallis had marched from Wilmington to the northward, and General Greene had moved near Camden, the few good Whigs who lived in Montgomery and Anson counties, returned to their homes about the beginning of May; after which frequent small contests took place between them and the Tories. Colonels Wade of Anson, Childs of Montgomery, and Crawford of Richmond counties, headed the Whigs; Colonels Fanning, Elrod and McNeil the Tories. The counties between Drowning Creek and Pee Dee were traversed by the scouts of both parties. A system of plunder and cruelty was practised by the Tories under Fanning, which soon produced a spirit of retaliation on the part of the Whigs, and devastation marked the track of both parties as they passed the dwellings of their adversaries. Several skirmishes took place in the months of July and August, in which the Tories, commanded by Fanning, obtained advantage over the Whigs, who were commonly ordered out for a two-weeks' tour of duty. In August, the whole force that could be raised in the aforesaid counties was ordered out, and met the Tories at Beattie's Bridge, on Drowning Creek, where they had a battle, for the particulars of which I refer to the written account of the Rev. Jonathan Jackson, who was a captain and got wounded.\* The Whigs were defeated. Mr. Jackson, though a prisoner, would not tell the loss of

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\*See note at close of chapter.

the Tories. He saw but two dead and several wounded. The same party, after a day or two for refreshment and some reinforcements, moved on to Hillsboro, captured Governor Burke, etc., and fought a battle at Lindley's Mill.

About the last of April, General Green had settled a cartel with the British General for the exchange of prisoners, in pursuance of which General Rutherford and several other officers who had been captured at Gates' defeat and sent to St. Augustine, where they endured great hardships, were now exchanged and returned home. In the month of August the General again took command of the militia in Salisbury district (since Salisbury and Morgan). He soon had information of the progress the Tories were making between Pee Dee and Cape Fear, and an application from the officers commanding on the frontiers in that quarter for assistance. He ordered the next detachment liable for duty to rendezvous on Little River, in Montgomery County, by the 15th of September, and advised the citizens to volunteer as cavalry, beside those who were drafted as infantry. There assembled at the plantation of a Mr. Robinson about the time and shortly after the period appointed, about nine hundred and fifty infantry, and near two hundred cavalry, seventy of whom were equipped as dragoons, in two troops, under the command of Captain Simmons, of Rowan, and Captain Graham, of Mecklenburg. Robert Smith, of Mecklenburg, who had served as a captain in the Regulars until the regiments in the North Carolina line were reduced, was appointed Major and vested with the command of the whole cavalry. It was near the 1st of October before arrangements could be completed

for moving forward towards the enemy. In the meantime the officers, several having done duty with Davie, then with Washington and Lee, were diligent in disciplining their men, especially the cavalry. The enemy, as we learned afterwards, had their spies present, who reported to them from time to time; which made an impression in favor of the Whigs. Scouts were sent out, but the enemy kept retired behind Drowning Creek, and no parties came in contact. The army marched about the 1st of October, by slow movements; took the road towards Fayetteville. The cavalry scoured the country for some distance to the right; arrived high on Drowning Creek (Monroe bridge); stayed a few days in that neighborhood; were joined by Captain Gillespie, from Guilford, with a troop of dragoons, which increased that description of troops to one hundred, and several companies of mounted infantry. The whole cavalry was upwards of three hundred. Major Smith was appointed Colonel Commandant of all the cavalry, and Captain Graham, Major, and his Lieutenant, Charles Polk, Captain of the Mecklenburg troop. The whole force of every description might be fourteen hundred—three hundred and fifty horse and one thousand and fifty foot. After crossing Drowning Creek a few miles, the army turned to the right; aiming to keep between the heads of the waters which run into Waccamaw on the right and Rock Fish and Cape Fear on the left. The order of march was, Major Graham with the dragoons and one troop of mounted infantry in front; next General Rutherford's infantry; then the baggage train; in the rear, Colonel Smith's mounted infantry. The roads were so bad that the line of march was much extended.



Moving in the foregoing order near Rock Fish Creek, on the 15th of October, 1781, the advance dragoons, sixteen in number, discovered before them forty Tories, who, under a Colonel McNeil, had been sent out to reconnoitre. Our advance did not hesitate a moment, but charged them; they fled. On being closely pressed, they dispersed and took to the swamps and escaped. The General came to the front, wished the dragoons to follow their trail, as it would lead to their main camp; but that was impossible, as they had dispersed. He then ordered the whole cavalry in front to take the trail by which McNeil's party had come, as he must have been sent from their camp. Colonel Owen, of Bladen, with about thirty-five mounted men, joined us, making the cavalry in front about one hundred and fifty. We took the back track of McNeil's party, which, after several windings, led towards McFall's Mill on Raft Swamp, and captured an old man, who stated the Tories had left their camp at that place in the morning. In his opinion, there were six hundred men, commanded by four colonels—Elrod, Ray, McNeil and McDougal; that Fanning was not with them; he had been wounded in a battle with General Butler; was lying out. When we came in sight of that place, smoke like that of a camp appeared, and we made dispositions for attack. The front troop advanced, but the enemy, all except two men, had gone. These we captured; one of them was just from Wilmington. He had British arms and uniform, and in attempting to escape had received a wound on the head. Their information was that the enemy had marched upwards of half an hour; that on the arrival of McNeil's party, coming scattering into camp, many

ran into the swamp and could scarcely be induced to return. Graham's party took their trail; kept on at a common travel, and in three or four miles discovered their rear, and at the same instant was discovered by them. The pilot stated there was no swamp nigher than a quarter of a mile of them; they were on horse-back, and appeared to be making a disposition for resistance. The Whigs were halted for the rear to close up, and dispositions made for attack; Simmons' troop in front in line, the other two troops in column behind their centre. The mounted infantry, on the flanks, moved on. Simmons was instructed, if it appeared like serious resistance, to wheel down the flanks to our rear; if not, to charge them. In moving towards them, at a trot, at the distance of thirty or forty poles, they began to fire some over their shoulders, when facing from us. The Whigs raised a shout, and the front troop charged into them at full speed. The column came after at a brisk gallop, as fast as they could preserve order, and the mounted infantry fell in the rear. The enemy broke and fled as fast as they could; but the stout horses and expert riders of the west soon overtook them; and when they came in contact with the sand-hill ponies, went through, trod down, and turned over horses and riders. After their first fire, the enemy thought of no further resistance, but endeavored to make their escape, and aimed for a branch of the Raft Swamp in their front, over which there was a causeway two hundred yards wide. Our troops entered the causeway with them, using the sabre against all they could reach. As soon as it was felt, the Tories would throw themselves off on each side into the ditch, quitting their horses and mak-

ing off in the swamp; the dragoons near the front fired their pistols at them in their retreat. By the time the Whigs got half way through, the causeway was crowded with dismounted ponies for twenty steps before them, so that it was impossible for them to pass. Two or three stout men dismounted, and commenced pushing them over into the ditch, out of the way. When it was a little cleared, the dragoons rushed over; the front troop, now scattered, pursued the Tories in all directions. The front of the second troop, on passing the causeway one hundred yards, was halted, that the rear might pass the defile and close up. By the time two-thirds were over, a fire began about one hundred poles in front. The officer leading the enemy's van had availed himself of the time lost in crossing the causeway, and had formed about one hundred and fifty men near the corner of a field, and on the approach of the scattering troops pursuing, began to fire on them. As soon as this was heard, our main body moved on, coming within two hundred yards of the enemy. They gave a general fire, and their guns being empty, was the signal for the dragoons to charge them at full speed. They fled, and in half a mile entered a causeway which leads across the main Raft Swamp. Our front entered it with them, and here again the same scene was acted as at the last causeway. As soon as one of our men would reach forward and strike a Tory with the point of the sabre, the rider would tumble into the ditch and make off through the mud, leaving his horse in the way; the pistols in front were fired at them as before. The causeway was long, and some breaches in it increased the difficulty of reaching them. The mounted infantry, with Colonel Owen, was ordered to

dismount and come forward; but our cavalry and the Tory ponies swarming in the broken causeway, so impeded their advance that it was getting too dark to see to shoot by the time they reached the front. As the enemy were much scattered and completely beaten, it was thought inexpedient to pursue the victory farther. The men were collected by the sound of the trumpet at the west side of the swamp, and marched back to where General Rutherford had encamped, near McFall's Mill, where they arrived about 10 o'clock at night. No damage was sustained on our part, only two swords (which were formed by blacksmiths) were broken. The enemy had sixteen killed and it is believed about fifty wounded, most of them slightly, as they uniformly, on receiving one cut with a sword, jumped into the swamp out of the reach of a second. This first contest with the Tories completely broke their spirit; they never afterwards offered resistance in force, until near Wilmington, where they expected support from the British. On the other hand, our cavalry held them in such contempt that the common troopers could hardly be induced to use the necessary precautions for safety.

On the next day, 16th of October, the army marching a few miles down the Raft Swamp, on the east side, was about to take up camp at two adjoining plantations, the cavalry at that farthest down. It appeared they could obtain but a scanty supply of forage, and another plantation appeared in view below. Some of Captain Gillespie's troops (from Guilford) got leave to go there for a supply. On entering the enclosure, before they got to the house, ten or a dozen guns were fired at them out of a potato patch. A respectable young man, a Mr. Mc-

Adoo, was killed; his companions fell back. The cavalrymen, who had not unsaddled their horses, instantly mounted and led off to where the firing was; meeting on the way some of those who had been fired on, and went up briskly to the plantation; Major Graham and Captain Simmons in front. When they had arrived near where McAdoo lay, the same number of guns were discharged at their front, and the Tories immediately ran into the swamp, which was within fifty steps. Their fire did no injury, except to wound Captain Simmons' horse in two places, which caused him to plunge and fall and throw the rider. The mounted infantry in the rear of the cavalry were ordered to dismount and pursue into the swamp, which they did near a quarter of a mile, but did not overtake them.

Early next morning, General Rutherford had the field officers convened at his quarters, and explained his views to them; that an attempt must be made to rout the Tories out of their swamps and hiding places; otherwise they would be troublesome to us, as General Marion had been to the British in the like situation, and that we should try driving the Raft Swamp on that day. In pursuance of these orders, the greater part of the infantry were marched across the causeway over the swamp, where it was near half a mile wide; were distributed four or five steps apart, the cavalry equally divided to keep down the margin of the swamp on each side, a little in advance of the infantry, each man instructed to endeavor to preserve the same relative position with his comrades as when we entered the swamp. When the whole were arranged in their position as above, and had divested themselves of part of their clothing for the pur-

pose, they left the causeway together. In a mile or two they found two families, no men with them; the women said their husbands were gone to Wilmington. In going near three miles down, a considerable noise was heard near the middle of the swamp. It was eight or ten steers alarmed at their approach. The men nearest thought it was a party of Tories endeavoring to escape, the bushes and briars being so thick they could not see them, though they were near, began to fire at them. The steers took nearly to the west, along the front of their line, and a scattered fire was kept up until they came to the edge of the swamp, when the cavalry took them in charge. When arrived on the sand hills they soon became gentler, and were driven to camp. In about three miles the men were worn down, torn with bamboos and other briars; many had waded up to their middle in mud. By pressing forward towards the firing at the steers, their order of movement was broken, and they began to move out of the swamp on each side. When collected, they were marched back to camp without capturing a single Tory. However, it was afterwards understood to have answered a good purpose. The news soon spread through the whole hostile districts that Rutherford's men were driving the swamps, and it is believed but few of the Tories took shelter in them afterwards.

The army continued to move slowly down the Raft Swamp; from thence to Brown Marsh, where General Butler had had a battle with the British and Tories some weeks before, and encamped for several days near that place.

Alexander Martin, who was Speaker of the Senate

when Governor Burke was captured by the Tories at Hillsboro, as soon as he had notice of that event, in pursuance of the Constitution in such case, took on himself the duties of Governor of North Carolina; and having assembled a life-guard of twenty-four militia cavalry, he and suit arrived at General Rutherford's camp. There, on the next day, he issued a very flattering address to the army, in which he noticed the officers who commanded when the Tories were defeated at Raft Swamp, near McFall's Mill, advising perseverance, as agreeably to the news received from different quarters, the enemy would shortly be cooped up in the seaport towns.

Within a day or two after the preceding events, His Excellency, the Governor, and suit moved up the country; and General Rutherford divided his force: the legionary corps, commanded by Col. Robert Smith, consisting of about one hundred dragoons and two hundred mounted infantry, he considered sufficient to keep in awe the Tories, and cut off supplies going to the British on the southwest side of the Cape Fear River. With this main force, and only one troop of mounted infantry, he marched over Cape Fear at Waddell's Ferry, intending to invest Wilmington on the north side, if practicable; at any rate to cut off the enemy's supplies from the country and keep under the disaffected. In pursuance of this plan, the army marched from Brown Marsh on the 23d of October, about noon. The orders of Colonel Smith were to march in the night, and proceed on until opposite Wilmington.

The next day about dusk in the evening he took two Tories direct from that place, who gave intelligence that

when they set out the British were drawn up and boats preparing to transport them over the river, to march in the night and attack Gen. Rutherford, who was known to be encamped at Brown Marsh, as they had done General Butler, with some success, several weeks before. Their reports separately corresponded in such a manner that they were believed to be correct. A council of officers was called, and it was decided, notwithstanding, to pursue the general order, and continue the march in the night. Though the men had sufficient confidence in themselves, and held the Tories in contempt, and would run any risk against them, yet all knew the British regulars were a foe to be respected, and a new order of march was directed. Captain Polk's Mecklenburg troop of dragoons, Captain Bethel's troop of Guilford mounted infantry, and Captain Kennedy's from Burke County, were placed under the command of Major Graham, with orders to march two or three hundred yards in front of the main body; and a select party of twelve dragoons was placed fifty yards in front of them, with orders, on meeting any part of the enemy, except in swamp or unfavorable ground, to charge them, regardless of number. By this means they expected to find them. If Tories, there was no doubt they would fly; if ascertained to be British, Colonel Smith would, at favorable places, plant supporting parties, and a retreat could easily be effected without loss, until daylight. Two confidential troopers with the advance examined the margin of all swamps and suspected places before the troops were allowed to approach them. Hence the march was slow. At 9 o'clock we took another man direct from Wilmington. His account corresponded with the former. He had seen



troops in a boat. Continued the march; expected every minute to meet the British, on their way to attack General Rutherford; arrived within two miles of the ferry opposite Wilmington by light in the morning; discovered some persons advancing before us; a company of mounted infantry was marched out of the road about thirty steps on each side; the dragoons behind, out of the road likewise. But the commanding officer appeared to them in the road, opposite the rear of the mounted infantry. It was only four Tories. They approached the commanding officer with confidence, until they discovered to what party he belonged, when they began to bring down their guns; but on being hailed by the mounted infantry on each flank, threw down their guns and surrendered. They stated that some British had passed the ferry the day before, but returned in the evening; all but the garrison of fifty in the brick house, half a mile ahead. The prisoners were sent back to Colonel Smith, and the party marching thirty or forty steps on the right of the road and parallel to it, came silently within three hundred yards of the house about sunrise. Two of the regulars came out without arms to collect fire-wood. Two dragoons were sent around to get between them and the house; took them without creating an alarm; learned from them and the last prisoners taken, that about one hundred Tories were encamped at Moore's plantation, about a mile below, under command of a Colonel Graham, related to General Waddell. Colonel Smith came forward and decided that the three troops in front should go on and attack them while the main force would be drawn up in position before the brick house.

The party with Major Graham moved on silently until they came in sight of smoke and heard the sound of horses' heels' etc., when the infantry dismounted and formed. Captain Kennedy's Burke men, thirty steps on the right; Captain Bethel's Guilford troop, the same distance on the left; Captain Polk's Mecklenburg dragoons on the road about eighty yards in the rear. The commanding officer in the road opposite the rear of the infantry moved slowly and silently, till nearly in sight of the Tories' camp, when their commander, Colonel Graham, came riding, meeting us, going to the brick house, apparently unconcerned, until he came within sixty yards of the front of the infantry, when discovering our character, he wheeled his horse and went back in great haste. With much difficulty the infantry were restrained from firing at him. They were ordered to move on briskly after him. On entering his camp, there was great confusion in trying to form. A causeway being opposite the house, and an enclosure of some low grounds, the infantry came up at a trot and deployed along a fence, about one hundred and forty yards from the enemy, and resting their guns on the fence fired as they came into place. The enemy were not completely formed, though they began a scattering fire on us. When our fire commenced, they began to break, and it was discovered that none were attempting to avail themselves of the defence or shelter of the buildings. The dragoons were ordered to charge them, which was done at full speed. The enemy fled in all directions as they were pressed by the cavalry. Most of them turned to the left in a salt marsh. Here, as at Raft Swamp, many of them got but one slight cut with the sabre, quit their horses,

and escaped; but several were shot with pistols in the marsh. Colonel Graham and two other officers were pursued half a mile; but being mounted on fleet horses, and having taken a good start, they escaped. The enemy had twelve killed, and it was supposed about thirty wounded. On the part of the Whigs, neither man nor horse was hurt. After collecting the arms, horses and spoils of the enemy's camp, the command returned to the main force before the brick house. They stated that the first the enemy knew of our being in the neighborhood was when the firing commenced at Moore's plantation, and that instantly the whole of the drums beat to arms in Wilmington. We reconnoitered the house, found it was protected with abattis, and doors and windows barricaded with timber, and discovered troops were passing through the island and over the ferry, which the house was so situated as to command. Colonel Smith, seeing no farther advantage to be obtained without too great a risk, ordered a march back the same route by which he came, until above Livingston Creek, where he kept guards on the routes to Wilmington, both by land and water.

When on the return march, the surgeon of the cavalry, Dr. Nelson—said to be eminent in his profession (since removed to Georgia), of an eccentric character, who had been along with us at Raft Swamp and again this morning, had a pack-horse with lint, bandages and some medicine, led by a soldier—came riding by Major Graham and some other officers, addressed him apparently with some chagrin: "I find it is not worth while to have a doctor where you fight, for they have nothing to do—might as well go home," passed on, pack-horse

and all, and did go home; though at the time it was thought nothing more than a compliment until it was known he had gone.

The men were offended that they had not been led to storm the brick house; it was the constant subject of conversation with the lower grades of officers and men. No remonstrances respecting the risk could satisfy them, and as an evidence of the state of discipline, and the force of public opinion, the officers were compelled, contrary to their better judgment, to gratify them. After two days rest, they were led to the brick house early in the morning, were drawn up in position in full view, out of gunshot, and a flag sent in by Captain Kennedy (since General Kennedy of Kentucky), of Burke, summoning them to surrender in ten minutes. The flag was hailed at seventy steps, and a soldier without arms sent for the summons; when the officer read it, he answered verbally to Captain Kennedy, "I disregard your orders; I don't surrender." When Kennedy returned, the infantry advanced under cover of some timber and the bank of the river on the left and commenced firing. It was returned from the garrison and continued for half an hour or upwards. Not much damage was done on either side, as the enemy under cover found that the best point from which to annoy the Americans was from the windows of the upper story. On sending up some of the Yagers for the purpose, a Hessian was shot through the knee; and from said story they shot a Gray, who lived in the forks of the Yadkin, through the flesh of the thigh, which was thought lightly of at first, but when brought to the doctor, the main artery was found cut, and he bled to

death. In less than hour the men were withdrawn and marched off. Several had their clothes perforated with the balls of the Yagers, but no other damage. A single field piece would have been more efficient than anything we could do, but of that we were destitute. We retired to the former position on the northwest of Cape Fear River, from whence an officer was sent with a detailed account to General Rutherford. By this time Rutherford had reached the Great Bridges, over the northwest branch of Cape Fear River, ten or twelve miles north of Wilmington, across which a part of his troops and a detachment of British had a skirmish, in which he had one man killed (McLean, of Lincoln). It was not known what damage the enemy sustained. On return of the officer to Colonel Smith's quarters, Rutherford wrote that he had been informed by deserters that since the town had been hemmed in, the enemy had dispatched several barges and some troops—British and Tories—down the river, as we supposed, to Fort Johnson, Lockwood's Folly, or Shallot River, for the purpose of getting supplies, of which the action of our troops had deprived them through the usual channels; and he ordered Colonel Smith to send a detachment around in that direction to prevent this, if possible, or route such parties of Tories as might be found embodied. Major Graham was ordered on this service with Polk's dragoons, Captain Caruther's mounted troop from Mecklenburg, Captain Smith's mounted troop from Surry, and part of Captain Sapp's mounted troop from Rowan, under Lieutenant Monroe. In the whole, ninety men took the road down the river. The bridge on Town Creek being destroyed, we had to make a considerable circuit. At

Brunswick, we saw a small craft at a distance, but could not ascertain her character; were informed that the barges which came down the river had passed through the new inlet at Fort Johnson. All was silent; no enemy was to be seen on land or water. The party took the route by Lockwood's Folly and Shallot River. Several Tories we met, and who fled, were taken after receiving a cut or two with the dragoons' sabres; we continued across the Newcomb River, and encamped at a place called Seven Creeks, not far from the South Carolina line. It had rained in the day, and was cold; the night was cloudy, and sometimes it was dropping. From some old houses the men had taken clapboards to make a kind of tent for shelter. The commanding officer assisted the officer of the day in placing the guard. Colonel Gainey, who commanded the Tories in South Carolina, between the Waccamaw, Pee Dee and Drowning Creek, and who was at this time under a truce with General Marion, by some means or other had had notice of a party of the North Carolina Whigs being so near his district, and had collected about eighty of his adherents, and about 11 o'clock at night passed silently and undiscovered along a ravine, between where the sentries were not more than sixty yards apart, and placed his men within fifty steps of our camp. A single gun was first fired, which made an alarm, but before the men had time to rise, a full volley was discharged on the camp.

In the tent of boards, under which Captain Caruthers and six men lay, it appeared next morning ten balls had gone through, none more than five feet high; but when the fire came, his men had not got on their feet, and only one was wounded. A young Dutchman of Lieu-

tenant Monroe's command, was lying with his head on a flat pumpkin for a pillow; two balls went through his pumpkin, but escaped him. The horses of the cavalry were scared—nearly one-third broke; the men began to rally about thirty steps in the rear of their tent. Those of the dragoons who got their horses, mounted without saddles. About twenty formed; but the point of a fence was between them and the enemy. They were ordered to oblique to the left from behind the fence. The movement made some noise. The enemy by this time had loaded their pieces and discharged another volley at them. While their guns were empty was deemed a favorable opportunity, and the dragoons were ordered to charge, which they did rapidly and with a shout. Gainey's men fled and dodged behind the trees—only one was discovered and cut down. In so dark a night they easily made their escape. The infantry had formed, and came on after the cavalry for two hundred yards. The enemy were much scattered, and were heard endeavoring to collect in a swamp to which they mostly fled, about a quarter of a mile off. The Whigs were called back into a field near their camp to lie on their arms until daylight. A detachment was then sent on the enemy's trail four miles, but they had passed on into South Carolina. We had one man killed—Lieutenant Clark—and three others wounded; four horses were killed, two of which were shot down under the dragoons when they charged, and several horses wounded. Only one of the enemy was killed. After burying the soldier and fixing the wounded for travelling, the party marched up to the White Marsh and encamped at Marsh Castle. It was believed Colonel Gainey might get reinforced and make

another attack at this place. Considerable defences were made with fence rails, in such a manner that if the enemy had come, he would have been under a cross fire in all directions. Gaps were made in the enclosure for the cavalry to move whenever wanted.

On the next day marched by Waccamaw Lake and joined Colonel Smith above Livingston Creek. On the succeeding day, heard considerable firing of small arms in the direction where General Rutherford lay. In the evening, Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, of the United States Legion, arrived. He had come by way of General Rutherford's camp from the American headquarters at Yorktown, in Virginia, and brought intelligence that Lord Cornwallis and the British army were captured on the 19th of October; and that General Rutherford, on receiving the news, had drawn up his army and fired a "*feu de joie*," which was the firing we had heard. Colonel Lee moved on to the south to join General Greene, and in the evening several gentlemen from Wilmington came to us and informed us the British were about evacuating that place. On the next day we moved down to Shaw's plantation, within four miles of the town; heard that the whole of the British troops were on board, and the vessels falling down the river. Two boats were procured and manned, and we went down the river from Shaw's to town. The enemy's vessels were in sight, lying near the place called the Flats. On the wind rising, they soon moved out of sight. General Rutherford and part of his troops had arrived an hour before, and took up headquarters at Mr. Hill's, the only active Whig, and who had suffered more by the enemy than any person then in town. Guards were placed out, an officer of



police appointed, and to such of the inhabitants as applied, officers or respectable privates were sent to quarter with them as safeguards. What public stores were left by the enemy, were taken possession of. By the second day it was reported that the enemy had left the coast, and all was tranquil in the town. The wagons which hauled for General Rutherford's troops were ordered down from the bridge over the North East River, and loaded with salt left by the British. To make out loads for the whole, some salt was taken from the disaffected, and hauled on to the west. When the army returned home, as they arrived at the place of being mustered out of service, it was distributed, one bushel to each man who had served the campaign, which afforded a seasonable supply of that scarce article, and was of more real value to the men than the Auditor's certificate they received some months after for their services. After the month of November, 1781, the militia of North Carolina were not called on for any further service.

The following orders are the last that I have found issued on this campaign :

*To Major Joseph Graham :*

SIR:—You are hereby authorized and directed to take command of the whole of the dragoons and mounted infantry of Col. Smith's Corps who were on the leftward of the Northwest River. You are then to join Col. Leonard and take such a route as will tend to most effectually disperse and finally subdue such Tories and disaffected people as continue embodied in the settlements bordering on this State and adjoining to South Carolina and you are to continue in this service as long as may appear to you necessary for accomplishing this purpose. Then to march your command home, not suffering them to disperse until you may have crossed the Great Pee Dee; then regularly discharge your troops.

(Signed) GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD, B. G. M.

*Wilmington, Nov. 10, 1781*

## CAMP MARSH CASTLE, Nov. 21, 1781.

Orders. Officer of the day tomorrow Capt. Cummins. Guard to consist of 1st Lt., one Sergeant and twelve privates. Every person in camp to immediately enroll with Capt. Calruth, Cummins or with Lt. Baldwin: Those who have been officers during the campaign to be called on as such; troops to hold themselves in readiness to march precisely at six o'clock in the morning. And it is required that the most profound silence and greatest order is observed on the march through the whole of this route.

N. B. Returns to be made by five o'clock this evening.

(Signed) JOSEPH GRAHAM,  
*Maj. Commanding.*

## CAMP EMORY'S BRIDGE, Nov. 22, 1781.

Orders. Officer of the day tomorrow Capt. Calruth, troops to be on the alarm post at five and march at six. Lt. Baldwin with his troops to continue at the bridge until the other troops have passed the swamp, then return such route as he may think best.

(Signed) JOS. GRAHAM, *Major.*

## CAMP MR. BARNES' PLANTATION ASHPOLE, Nov. 23, 1781.

Orders. Officer of the day tomorrow Capt. Cummins. Guard to consist of ten privates, officer and sergeant: Troops to march at six o'clock in the morning. Guard 200 paces in rear, two Guardsmen same distance in rear of them; no detached party or guard on the march to fire a gun if it can be avoided, except at a party or when we may stop to forage on individuals.

(Signed) JOS. GRAHAM, *Major.*

Official report of Colonel Wade of the action at Bettie's (Beattie's) Bridge, from Governor Burke's letter-book:

ANSON COUNTY, 6th Aug., 1781.

*His Excellency*, Gov. BURKE.

SIR:—The operations of the Tories in the counties of Bladen, Cumberland and Richmond became very alarming in general, and more particularly in this quarter.

They have taken a number of the principal men on Cape Fear River, and continuing so to do daily in all that part of the country

from Wilmington to Deep River, between Cape Fear and Drowning Creek. Also last Saturday began to form a company on this side of Drowning Creek, and disarm the settlers within twenty miles of the Pee Dee, and carry off all men fit for duty to their camps. As they also drive off all our stock in general over Drowning Creek into what many call protected land, which they deem conquered, where they have Col. Hector McNeil and Colonel Ray with what they call a flying army, who force in all men able to bear arms, to join them in that part they deem conquered, under the penalty of the loss of their property. These are facts that may be depended on, as I received them from prisoners in my custody, whom I took last week, and as they appear to grow more dangerous every day, I ordered out one-half of my regiment, and was joined by a few men from Montgomery and Richmond, and proceeded in search of them, and on Saturday, the 4th inst., found them at Betty's (Beattie's) Bridge on Drowning Creek, where they had a picket guarding that pass, which is a very dangerous one, being a narrow lane and swamp very thick; when I in the night sent a picket to take possession of the Bridge, in order to catch some person to obtain intelligence; and the two guards not knowing of each other, when one of their men passed the bridge he was taken, and was brought into the camp, who informed me that their whole party lay on the high land opposite the bridge, where they formed and endeavored to bring on their men to the bridge; but the firing from our riflemen being warm, which began about one hour before, two companies of our men that had possession of the pass, and were posted to bring off the action, got warm and forced the bridge, and caused the enemy to scatter and retreat in confusion, which caused them also to get out of order, so that they thought their own men to be the enemy surrounding them, and retreated, which could not be recalled when the matter was discovered, the main body then being near the bridge. During the time our men were over the bridge in the corn-field, the firing was very warm for nearly ten minutes. Before they broke, our party saw seven dead in the lane, and a great deal of blood on the fences, and from the steadiness with which our party seemed to fire I think they received considerable loss in killed and wounded, and as the enemy would not be tolled over the bridge, the firing began again and lasted until nearly twelve o'clock, though very scattering, as I ordered our party never to fire at random, which I believe they did not, and finding the enemy slack firing and retreated, expected that they had formed an ambuscade to draw us

over, and our ammunition being nearly exhausted, I thought it advisable to retreat and send home the wounded men. We received no loss, only four men wounded, three of them very slightly, and the other I hope will do very well.

P. S.—Since I wrote, my spy, who was prisoner with the enemy, informs me that fifteen were wounded when he made his escape, and he understood that about twelve or thirteen were killed on the ground. He made his escape near an hour before the action ended, as I sent him in early in the morning as making his escape from my camp, but being suspected, he was put under guard. Our numbers were nearly the same at the attack, though had we been on clear land we could have rendered a good account of them and put an end to any confusion in that neighborhood, but I hope to give them another stroke before long.

## APPENDIX.

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The following is an epitome of North Carolina's military services in the Revolution and the laws enacted in furtherance of that cause.

This has been compiled from an address by Governor Graham at Greensboro, N. C., December, 1860, upon the Life and Character of Gen. Nathanael Greene.

It is annexed as a means of preservation, for "ready reference," and as germane matter to the papers of General Graham.

### AN EPITOME OF NORTH CAROLINA'S MILITARY SERVICES IN THE REVOLUTION, AND THE LAWS ENACTED IN ITS FURTHERANCE, CONDENSED FROM GOVERNOR GRAHAM'S ADDRESS AT GREENSBORO, N. C., DECEMBER, 1860, ON LIFE AND CHARACTER OF GENERAL GREENE.

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I. In December, 1775, Colonel Howe's regiment of the North Carolina Line was, on the request of the Governor, sent to Virginia and aided the Virginia troops in suppressing an insurrection of whites and slaves.

II. Lieutenant Colonel Martin, with a portion of his regiment of the North Carolina Line, and Colonels Rutherford, Polk and Neal's regiments of North Carolina militia, aided South Carolina troops in suppressing the Schovillite Tories in that State.

III. Movements which culminated in the battle and victory of Moore's Creek Bridge, February 27th, 1776.

IV. Brigades of Generals Howe and Moore go to Charleston and aid in defeating the attack on that city by Sir Peter Parker, July and August, 1776.

V. General Rutherford's expedition against the Cherokee Indians.

VI. The North Carolina Continental Line, with the army under General Washington in New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in 1777, '78, '79.

VII(1). In 1777 Governor Caswell, upon the application of the State authorities of Virginia and South Carolina, orders the militia to mobilize to go to those States if called for.

(2) Three thousand troops under General John B. Ashe marched to South Carolina and Georgia, upon urgent application of the Governor of South Carolina.

VIII. Two thousand militia and a portion of the North Carolina Line, under command of General Sumner, sent to the army of General Lincoln in South Carolina.

IX. The remnant of the North Carolina Line that had served in the North with General Washington and a thousand militia march to Charleston. Of the three thousand men surrendered at Charleston at least seventeen hundred were from North Carolina, viz., 700 Line, 1,000 Militia.

X. Ramsour's Mill. Expedition against Bryan's Tories in Surry. Hanging Rock. Rocky Mount. Wahab's (Walkup's). Camden.

XI. Cornwallis' invasion to Charlotte and retreat. King's Mountain. Cornwallis' second invasion. Cowpens. Cowan's Ford to Guilford Court-House.

XII. General Greene to Hobkirk's Hill, S. C., May 2nd, 1781.

XIII. Sumner's Brigade of North Carolina Line and North Carolina Militia under Colonel Malmedy, with Sumter and Lee in South Carolina and Georgia at High Hills, Eutaw, etc.

XIV. General Rutherford's expedition down the Cape Fear to Wilmington, October and November, 1781.

XV. Tory War in North Carolina preceding and during the Revolution. There were no more daring exploits or magnificent exhibitions of patriotism, valor and sacrifice in their country's cause than in the actions between the true Americans and the Tories. It is to be regretted that so little of this was recorded for the use of the historian. In Wheeler's History of North Carolina there are references to these engagements under the heads of the following counties, viz., Bladen, Duplin, Brunswick, Burke, Chatham, Craven, Gaston, Lincoln, Nash, Orange, Rowan, Surry and New Hanover.

XVI. The North Carolina men enlisted in Mecklenburg and Rowan counties in the South Carolina State troops in the regiments of Colonels Polk, Wade Hampton and Hill, 1780 and '81.

In June, 1781, upon the call to furnish men for the Continental Battalions, the counties were excepted which had recently furnished men for the Southern army to serve ten months under General Sumter. In the course of the war on previous occasions leave had

been granted to recruit men for both South Carolina and Georgia in this State.

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ACTS OF THE LEGISLATURE RAISING TROOPS FOR SERVICE.

I. Providing for "Line" and Militia according to requisitions of Congress.

II. 1777 authorizing the Governor to send not exceeding 5,000 Militia for twelve months to such points as Congress may direct. The Governor to command if expedient.

III. January, 1779, 1,500 three months' men for General Lincoln's army.

IV. May, 1779, 2,000 men for service in this and adjoining States.

V. October, 1779, 1,500 men in addition to No. III as "and aid" to South Carolina.

VI. April, 1780, 3,000 to complete the "Line" Battalions and 4,000 three months' men to serve in South Carolina. Major General Caswell to command.

VII. September, 1780. Established a Board of War for the more effectually and expeditiously calling forth the powers and resources of the State against a common enemy.

VIII. January, 1781. To regulate the Militia and fill up the Line battalions now reduced to five.

IX. June, 1781. (1) Raises one regiment. (2) Compel counties to furnish their quota to the Line. (3) 500 men to reinforce the Southern Army in Virginia or South Carolina as Commander-in-Chief directs.

X. April, 1782. Raises troops to complete the Line Battalions.

THE END.

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